

Centenary Volume II  
SELECTED SPEECHES & WRITINGS  
of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad





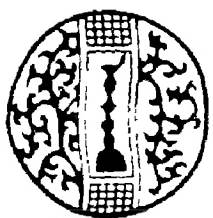


Portrait by K.K. Hebbar in the collection of ICCR, New Delhi.

# INDIA'S MAULANA

ABUL  
KALAM  
AZAD

EDITED BY  
SYEDA SAIYIDAIN HAMEED



INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS  
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The frontispiece is based on a portrait of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad by K.K. Hebbar.

At the end, I wish to remember my late husband Dr. S.M.A. Hameed who gave me every moral support needed to undertake such a massive project, and my father, the late Dr. K.G. Saiyidain for creating interest and veneration in my heart for Maulana Sahib, very early in my life. Three decades later, I was able to draw upon that feeling for giving my best to this prestigious project.

— Editor

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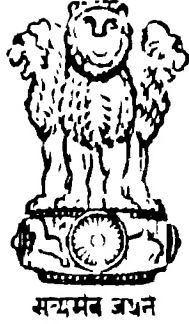
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## Message

It is appropriate that a collection of Tributes and Appraisals is being brought out on the occasion of Maulana Azad's birth centenary, together with anthologies in Urdu, Hindi and English, of his speeches and writings. I am sure these will serve to quicken interest in the seminal movement for our emancipation that was witnessed in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Many a great person was enlisted in the freedom struggle under Gandhiji's leadership. Each brought his or her own valuable personality and talent to the cause. If one brought organising ability, another brought intellectual sharpness and yet another a sincerity of dedication. But Maulana Sahib brought with him a rare *combination* of head and heart, an inspiration that was at once intellectual and emotional and a dedication that proceeded simultaneously from the signals of the mind as well as the promptings of conscience.

Maulana Sahib believed sincerely in India's destiny—not just as a nation but as a civilization. His knowledge of history gave him perspective. His knowledge of scripture gave him wisdom. To perspective and wisdom was added a sense of purpose. The combination was formidable. It was also creative.

Even as a young boy, he was unusually studious and while still in his teens he established a name for himself as the writer of erudite articles in Urdu. By the time he was sixteen, the future Maulana had already completed the traditional course of higher Islamic education.

Faith in God and pride in his country served as turbines in the young Maulana's sensibility to generate a fervent patriotism. Civil disobedience and the methods of resistance through boycott began to appeal to him. To rouse the conscience of his own Islamic brethren, he started in 1912 the great weekly *Al-Hilal*. The short-sighted disagreed with his pan-Indian nationalism. But the far-sighted rallied to his call.

*Al-Hilal* carried two messages simultaneously: the message of Islam and of Indian Independence. In describing patriotism for the Muslims as a religious duty, Maulana Sahib echoed the immortal Sanskrit saying:

*Janani Janma Bhumisha  
Swargadapi Gareeyasi*

(Mother and Motherland are  
Superior to Heaven.)

Maulana Sahib's courage no less than his erudition was noticed and admired by the nation, transcending all denominations. His distinguished contemporary Acharya Kripalani summed up Maulana Sahib's role in the following words:

He was a great divine and if he had just confined himself to the spiritual heritage of his people, he would have been the first in the field. He was a great orator and if he had simply remained an orator, the nation would have remembered him among the country's great orators. He was a great scholar and if he had devoted his life to scholarship, he would have been a leader in that field.... but his merit lay in this that he thought that all scholarship, all knowledge of divinity and philosophy, all his historical knowledge, would be worth little if the country was not free.

And so Maulana Sahib placed his talents and his time at the disposal of the freedom movement. But his vision went beyond the attainment of freedom. He was able to see that freedom will come, sooner or later, but that it must be followed by a consolidation of the spirit of the freedom movement. He knew in the core of his being that freedom would avail little, if it did not lead to unity among our people. Maulana Sahib once said:

If you like God you have to revile evil and if you want to please God you must not be afraid of displeasing Satan.

The 'good' that Maulana Azad had in mind for India consisted of her great legacy of a composite culture and her future destiny as a modern and progressive nation. The 'evil' that Maulana Sahib saw was the disharmony between the main communities of India.

The innumerable incarcerations, harassment and restrictive orders only served to enhance Maulana Sahib's national stature and standing with the people.



With his uncanny gift of spotting true worth, Gandhiji saw in Maulana Azad an extraordinary asset to the cause. And, on his part Maulana Sahib saw in Gandhiji, the great answer to the challenge of the times. Once he joined the Mahatma, there was no looking back. Initiative after initiative, campaign after campaign, saw the Mahatma and the Maulana side by side. Theirs was a great meeting, a great *sangam* of the force of the Ganges and the sweep of the Indus, the depth of the Gita and the vigour of the Koran.

When the mantle of Congress Presidentship fell on Maulana Sahib's young shoulders—he was just about 35 years old then—it was a recognition of the confidence that he enjoyed from all sections of Indian society. Our pluralist society saw him as an authentic voice of India's composite wisdom, of its heritage of eclecticism and its mutual respect for the religious practices and faiths of others.

Maulana Sahib as President of the Indian National Congress was the symbol of national resurgence. He was Congress President during the crucial phase of the War and during the Quit India Movement.

Gandhiji was arrested after the historic Quit India resolution and taken to Poona; Maulana Sahib, the Congress President, and the entire Working Committee were arrested and confined in Ahmednagar Fort. There, in the darkness of his cell, the fire of his revolutionary ardour yielded place to the lamp of his scholarship. Maulana Sahib read and wrote prodigiously during that term of imprisonment. Jawaharlalji, his fellow prisoner, had then embarked upon the manuscript of that great literary accomplishment, the *Discovery of India*. Jawaharlalji consulted Maulana Saheb extensively on that exercise, especially on the portions of his work dealing with Mughal history.

In the meantime, Maulana Sahib's wife, Eegum Zuleikha, fell grievously ill. One day, his jail superintendent handed Maulana Sahib a telegram. It informed him that his life-partner had passed away. "Though my determination did not desert me", he has written, "it seemed as if my feet had no strength left in them." Maulana Sahib remained in jail for one more year thereafter. On his release and return to Calcutta, he was received by vast crowds. His car inched forward along roads lined by his admirers. Maulana Sahib records:

As the car was crossing Howrah bridge, my mind moved back... My wife had come up to the gate of my house to bid me farewell. I was now returning after three years but she was in her grave and my home was empty. I told my companions to turn the car, for I wished to visit her grave before I went home. My car was full of garlands. I took one and placed it on her grave and silently read the *Fatiha*.



That passage ranks with the eloquent musings of Shah Jahan and the poetry of Bahadur Shah Zafar.

Maulana Sahib was an outspoken opponent of the political philosophy of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and of Partition and was a champion of the cause of Hindu Muslim unity and co-existence in a secular India. Maulana Sahib regarded the Partition of India as a defeat and would have preferred the postponement of the Independence of the country. He said as much at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 14-6-1947 which voted in favour of Partition. He said if this political defeat had to be accepted, "We should at the same time try to ensure that our culture was not divided". Azad, like Gandhi, could never reconcile himself to the division of the country and yet after Independence, he did not condemn either Jinnah or his own colleagues but bowed with dignity to the inevitable.

He said:

What was not to have happened has happened. We have now to think of the future.

Maulana Sahib was by Jawaharlal Nehru's side when the task of governing free India fell on Nehru. Azad became Jawaharlalji's trusted colleague in the formulation and implementation of the new Nation State's progressive policies. Maulana Sahib was entrusted with the portfolio of Education which he held continuously until his death in 1958. His tenure in the Ministry of Education was pioneering in more senses than one. It was in this period that education first came to be viewed as something more than the imparting of book-knowledge. Scientific and technical education, teachers' training, language training, schemes of scholarship for Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other Backward Classes—all these took shape in these years. Although Maulana Azad never used the phrase, it was in his stewardship of the Ministry of Education that the Government of India first came to view education as an investment in human resources.

Maulana Sahib's days in the Ministry of Education are fondly remembered by all those who were privileged to watch it. In this period his intellectual horizons remained vast. He recognised the All India Council of Technical Education and established the University Grants Commission. Along with the other teachers Dr. Radhakrishnan and Jawaharlal Nehru, he gave shape to the concept of our three distinguished Akademis for Music, Literature and Art: the Sahitya Akademi, the Sangeet Natak Akademi and the Lalit Kala Akademi. Maulana Sahib wanted resurgent India to find articulation and, by so doing, to fulfil itself.

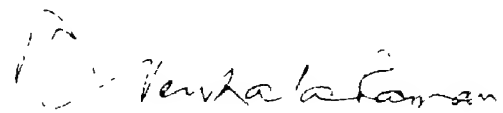
His early eclectic training made him a powerful votary of international understanding and world peace. The Indian Council for Cultural Relations of which he was founder and first President, bears shining testimony to his world view.

When on February 22, 1958 Maulana Sahib breathed his last, Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

He stood for what one may call the emancipated mind, the mind which is free from narrow prejudices of race or language, province or dialect, religion or caste. We had in Maulana Sahib the civilized mind... There is no doubt that we will not see the like of him again, a great man, a man of stately presence, indomitable courage and fearlessness, that is what Maulana was.

May these Centenary Volumes bring Maulana Sahib's career vividly to life and may they inspire us, as a society, as a nation and as a civilisation to emulate his example.

*April 26, 1989*



R. VENKATARAMAN



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# Introduction

It is a formidable task to make a selection from the works of a man whose writings and speeches made history. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad stood at the centre of India's freedom struggle. His written and spoken words, razor-sharp and precise, pierced through the bonds that held the nation captive. Although compared with some of his peers he wrote fewer works, but the combination of scholarship, wisdom and purpose enabled him to convey volumes of thought and information in a few words.

In making a selection of his works the key question was what should be included and what can be left out without the awesome thought that personal inadequacy has been charged with a staggering responsibility. Editing the works of Maulana into a distilled selection of approximately three hundred and fifty pages was, to use a well-known Urdu phrase, condensing the ocean into a goblet. The greatest inspiration for this work came from his own words:

*Tumahare pass ek aisi mushtail chingari maujud  
hai ke quareeney se hawa do to us se hazaron  
atishkade roshan ho saktey hain.*<sup>1</sup>

You possess a glowing ember; if you have the skill to fan it, you can light up a thousand fireplaces.

Through the translation of his works, be it his selected writings only, we felt we could reach the most distant firesides of the world.

In this introduction, I want to discuss three aspects of our work on Maulana. First, the problem of translating Maulana's works into English and Hindi; secondly, the reason why we made certain selections; and thirdly, his background and training that led to the writing of these works.

It was a challenge to translate Maulana's writings into English. Most of the existing translations, with a few exceptions, notably those of Prof. Mohammad Mujeeb and Syed Abdul Lateef, needed major revision. These included his Congress addresses; literary, political and religious commentaries. The fiery essays of *Al-Hilal* had never been systematically

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the article, "Urdu Aab aur Maulana Abul Kalam Azad" by Mehr-al-Qadri, from *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Ek Musalia..*

translated, barring random paragraphs used by Azad scholars as examples of his early writing style. The selections in this volume are, therefore, a modern rendering of Maulana's writings, selected and presented in this format for the first time. The problem we encountered with some of his earlier translated works was the literal transfer from the Urdu to the English idiom. Consequently, it was difficult to maintain a sustained reading flow. In this regard we followed the precepts of Syed Abid Husain, one of this century's foremost translators. Husain has described translation as an art as well as a craft:

We call it a craft because certain rules must be observed, although, in translation, there are no set rules. This compels the translator to use much greater discretion and selection. Translating a masterpiece is a creative act. Honest translation should be accurate, not word for word. Praising my translation of *Faust* Dr. Iqbal said, "It is excellent if only you had changed the names". I answered, "I do not believe it was right to change the names. These names have a world renown... they have become symbols of a culture and civilization."<sup>2</sup>

While working on the translations we were acutely conscious of losing some of the original lustre of Maulana's language. For example, take a passage from *Ghubar-i-Khatir* where he describes the obdurate individualism with which he searched for his path in life, and compare it with the English translation of the same.

*Mazhab mein, adab mein, siyasat mein, fikr-o-nazar  
ki aam rahon mein, jis taraf bhi nikalna para, akela  
hi nikalna para. Kisi raah mein bhi waqt ke kafilon  
ka saath na dey saka. Jis rah mein bhi qadam uthaya  
waqt ki manzilon se itna dur hota gaya ke jab mur  
kar dekha to gard-e-rah ke siva kuchh bhi dikhayee  
nahin deta tha. Aur yeh gard bhi apni tez raftari  
ki urai hui thi.*<sup>3</sup>

In religion, in literature, in politics, wherever I had to go, I went alone. I could not bring myself to walk beside the caravans of time that flowed along any of these paths. Whichever direction I took, I went so far ahead of the times, that when I turned back, I saw nothing but the dust of the road, the dust raised by the speed of my own passage.

The linguistic diminution is evident.

In Hindi, the problems of translation were different. The fact that Hindi

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<sup>2</sup> Syed Abid Husain, "Mata-e-Loh-o-Qalam" in *Hayat-e-Abid*, edited by Dr. Sughra Mehdi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, p. 125

and Urdu are part of the same linguistic tradition made the syntactical transfer relatively easy, but the Hindi writers had to contend with Maulana's habit of generously interspersing Arabic and Persian vocabulary with the basic Urdu. Therefore, while substituting the Arabic and Persian with Hindi equivalents, there was the consciousness that the flavour of Urdu should not be entirely lost in the effort to remain fervently faithful to Hindi.

Once again, Maulana's own words came to our rescue, when, as translators, we were momentarily perplexed by the complexity of the task on hand. In a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 27 March, 1940, Maulana writes:

Translating in a way, is much more difficult than composing in the original. It is by no means easy to maintain the literary content of the original writing, and, at the same time, convey through translation the literary style of the writer. Only a person with equal command over both the languages can attempt such a task.<sup>4</sup>

In the same letter he pays a tribute to the translator (in this case Jawaharlal Nehru) which we, as his translators, have also aspired to deserve.

You have conveyed my Urdu literary style so successfully in English, that I should not be surprised if it occurs to the reader that the original was English and not Urdu!

The next aspect of this work which needs to be discussed is the basis upon which selections of Maulana's writings were made. First, we examined the complete works of Maulana, which included his writings as well as speeches.<sup>5</sup> Then we divided his works into three major parts. The first part is entitled "Brilliant Beginnings: Journalistic Experimentation", and covers the period from 1899 when he started his first journal *Nairang-e-Alam*, to 1916 with the closure of *Al-Hilal* press. It includes a little of every category of writing; religious, political, philosophical and literary. During this phase, Maulana edited several journals, the most notable being *Al-Hilal*. The second part, entitled "The Peak Years: Religion, Politics and Literature", spans three decades, from his internment at Ranchi in 1916, until Independence in 1947, and consists of his political, religious and literary works. His best works were written during this time. The third part, entitled "Summing-up: The Post-Independence Phase", covers the last decade of his life and includes his official speeches and writings. Regardless of the official stamp on the writings of his last phase, many of them are landmark statements on Education, Science and Culture. His parliamentary speeches made during the same time, are

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<sup>4</sup> Unpublished letter, Jawaharlal Nehru Museum and Library, New Delhi.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's works do not exist in a complete published set.



eloquent and powerful statements on policy and philosophy.

In addition to the three major parts discussed above, we have included three others containing a few special pieces of writings and a couple of directly related materials. Part IV entitled "Correspondence" consists of letters and telegrams exchanged between Maulana and Mahatma Gandhi, and Maulana and Jawahar lal Nehru. It also contains miscellaneous memoranda, press releases and statements which reflect important and interesting aspects of Maulana's personality. Part V is a chronology of the events of his life, and Part VI is a comprehensive annotated bibliography of the entire canon of Azad's writings. It also has an exhaustive list of the books and articles written about him in several languages. This is the first definitive Azad bibliography ever to be published.

In categorizing certain writings as political, religious, literary, philosophical etc., we had to exercise certain arbitrary editorial prerogatives due to the difficulty of fitting his writings into any one niche. For example, take an article from *Al-Hilal*, "*AlJehadfi Sabil al Hurriyat*". ("Crusade for Independence"). It fits equally well into the political, or religious' category. Another piece of writing which is purely religious, *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, is also a recognized literary masterpiece; at the conclusion of his preface to its second edition he wrote a Persian couplet about the path of surrender that leads to the attainment of faith.

The more I dashed my hands and feet against the waves,  
The more woefully perplexed did I feel.  
But when I ceased to struggle and lay motionless  
The waves, of their own free will, drifted me across to the shore.

Can this be called literature, religion or both? Suffice it to say that Maulana's multifaceted creativity cannot be cribbed and confined in categories.

During his speeches to Parliament, while presenting demands for grants for the Ministry of Education, he occasionally quoted poetry to prove his point.

Thou desir'st wine? Wine not only good and strong, but in abundance.

Forget not that your server is a *Kalal* (wine merchant) and not the *Saqi* of Paradise.

I will tell the House to feel free to make as many requests for Education, as it pleases. I shall welcome them all. But remember that I am only a Minister of Education, not the keeper of Paradise.<sup>6</sup>

Given the problems of categorization, we looked for the predominant characteristic in any particular piece of writing, and fitted it accordingly.

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<sup>6</sup> General Budget, List of Demands, 1953.

## Introduction

The more difficult question was what to select. It was not a simple matter of including one representative piece from each literary genre. Maulana only wrote prose; the poems written in his early years were a part of his juvenilia which he preferred to forget. Some pieces of writing have been included in this selection because they have become immortal and timeless. For example, *Quol-e-Faisal*, a written statement produced in 1922, when he was convicted at the Calcutta Court; or the Presidential Address delivered at the 53rd session of the Indian National Congress, popularly known as the Ramgarh Speech; or his piece on the death of his wife written in the Ahmednagar Fort prison in 1942. Every piece has a literary, political, philosophic and historic significance. Without exception, all of them are well known, especially to the Urdu world. Only a few of them have been translated into English and Hindi. So far, therefore, the bulk of his writings could have been read only by a very limited number of people.

A Centenary Volume must include Maulana's most representative and best known writings, for the most part we did exactly that. Occasionally we took passages dealing with the same subject, from a long piece of writing, and, with appropriate references and footnotes put them together to reflect his views on a particular topic. For example, we took passages from *Ghubar-i-Khatir* which dealt with two seemingly unrelated subjects, "Prison Life" and "Tea"; Maulana had connected them by virtue of the pleasure he could derive from both. Placed under the title "The Pleasures of Tea and Prison Life", they reflect an interesting and unusual aspect of his personality.

Mark Antony's speech in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* as Brutus lay dead

His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up  
And say to all the world "This was a man".

applies equally to Maulana; the first epithet "gentle" to his personality and the second "mix'd elements" to his style of writing and oratory. It is the intricate mix of stylistic elements that we have tried to project in this selection. The four selections which make up the first phase of his writing are characteristic of the period of journalistic experimentation. Written in elevated prose, with a generous mix of Arabic and Persian, these writings are meant to jolt his people into a recognition of their national duty, which he interpreted as identical to their religious responsibility. With the exception of the first selection from *Lisan-ul-Sidq* which is about social reform, the above theme pervades the other three, "Objectives of *Al-Hilal*", "Crusade for Independence" and "Islam and Nationalism".

The second phase, includes his most important writings. His immortal classic, *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* is a very significant part of this phase. The

history of writing *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* covers a period of nearly fifteen years of Maulana's life. "It furnishes the picture of trials which a patriot-scholar has to bear when he seeks to pursue two avocations at one and the same time; one calling for the quietness of the cloister, and the other, the vigils and tribulations of the battlefield".<sup>7</sup> Maulana had planned to write three treatises on the Quran; first, an explanatory translation of the Quran intended to let the Book speak for itself without the interference of any commentator; secondly, *Tafsir al Bayan*, details meant for the scholar; and thirdly, *Muqqaddama-i-Tafsir* which would deal with the purposes of the Quran and the principles underlying them. Unfortunately, these three works could not be written separately; what appeared in 1930 was a compendium of the three under the title *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*.

Explaining his purpose Maulana writes

If we are to see the Quran in its true light, it will be necessary for us to lift all those veils which have, from age to age, been laid thereon under the stress of influences alien to the spirit of the Quran and then search for the reality about it in its own pages.<sup>8</sup>

Of all his writings, Maulana attached the greatest importance to his commentary on the *Surat-al-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Quran consisting of seven lines which epitomize the basic concept of Islam. We, therefore, selected the introduction of his commentary on *Surat-al-Fatiha*, which occurs at the beginning, his explanation of Hamd and his concluding note on the Sura. We also included, essentially, all of Maulana's Preface to the First Edition. The genesis of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* as explained by Maulana in this preface, furnishes an important precept for the reader and offers a rare insight into Maulana's personality.

The next category of writing consists of his political speeches. The first item selected for inclusion is *Quol-e-Faisal* or "The Final Verdict". In his *Young India* dated 23 February, 1922, Mahatma Gandhi praised it as "An eloquent thesis giving the Maulana's views of Khilafat and Nationalism, an oration deserving penal servitude for life".<sup>9</sup> Maulana did not speak during the court proceedings of the case against him, but, characteristically, submitted a written statement which ran into "thirty closely typed foolscap sheets". At the end of the statement Maulana addressed the chair directly and made, to quote Mahatma Gandhi, the most courageous statement ever offered by a Satyagrahi:

Mr. Magistrate, I shall take no more time of the court. It is an

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<sup>7</sup> Syed Abdul Lateef "An unfinished masterpiece", in *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, A Memorial Volume*, edited by Humayun Kabir.

<sup>8</sup> Abul Kalam Azad, *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, translated by Syed Abdul Lateef, Preface to the First Edition.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Mahadev Desai, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, 1940.

interesting, in fact, amazing chapter of history which we both are writing today. To my lot has fallen the accused's dock, to your lot the magistrate's chair. I concede that for this job your chair is as essential as my dock. Come, let us quickly finish this job which will become a memorable legend. The historian is attending to us, and the future has been long waiting for us. Please hurry up with your judgment so that I may revisit this place again and again. Let this process continue for some time till the doors of another court are flung open. That would be the court of the Divine Law. Time would be the judge between us, and the judgment written by it would be final and irrevocable.<sup>10</sup>

The second part also includes selections from the famous speech trilogy; the first two of these speeches were delivered in his capacity as Congress President to the General Sessions of Congress held at Delhi in 1923 and at Ramgarh in 1940. The third one was a speech to the Muslims of Delhi delivered in 1947 from the steps of the Jama Masjid. During this period Maulana's speeches were masterpieces of oratorical skill, packed with relevant information and irresistible arguments why his people, both Hindus and Muslims, should unite against their common enemy. Delhi and Ramgarh are two of the best examples of his lifelong crusade for Independence. Much later, the words spoken at Jama Masjid reflect changed circumstances and, consequently, his altered mood and style. While suppressing his inner despair at the breaking up of the country, he tried to give succour to hundreds of thousands of homeless Muslims who suddenly found themselves minus a political identity:

It was not so long ago that I told you that the two-nation theory was death-knell for a life of faith. I entreated with you to reject it, because the foundations upon which it rested were built of sand. But you paid no attention. You believed that the mad race of time would slow down to suit your convenience. Time, however, sped on. Those on whose support you were counting, have, today, abandoned you; left you like waifs, exposed to the vagaries of your own *kismet*.

One shorter selection from this period is entitled "On Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday". Broadcast over All India Radio in 1947, it is being published for the first time, having been transcribed from tape. The sadness in the tone of his voice gave a different quality to the speech. Had his longer speeches been likewise recorded, how many dimensions of his personality would we have discovered. The note of bitterness in the following lines is occasionally found in the writings and speeches of his later years:

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<sup>10</sup> *Quol-e-Faisal*, Passage translated by Arsh Malsiani, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, 1967.

*Punjab mein panch darya pani ke hazaron baras se beh rahey they. Ab ek chhata darya insaan ke garam garam khoon ka bhi behney laga hai. Pani key daryaon par hum ne eint paththar aur lohey ke pul banaye they. Us chhatey darya ka pul ab insanon ki lashon sey chuna ja raha hai.*<sup>11</sup>

For a thousand years five rivers of water have flowed in the Punjab. Today a sixth river is flowing, the river of human blood. On the water we built bridges of brick, stone and steel. The bridge over the sixth river is being built of human corpses.

In the literary part we have included four selections, three from *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, and one from *Tazkirah*. *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, regarded as the masterpiece of Urdu prose literature, is like the tomb of Tutankhamen, packed with literary treasures and linguistic and stylistic nuggets. The pieces selected are “On His Wife’s Illness and Death”, “On Music” and separate paragraphs under the general title “Pleasures of Tea and Prison Life”. The first selection reveals the delicacy and restraint in Maulana’s expression of personal feelings:

Thus ended thirty-six years of our wedded life. Death stood up like a wall between us, and now we can look across at each other only by standing near this wall.<sup>12</sup>

The second selection describes in great detail his devotion to music. Having learnt it secretly from one of his father’s disciples, Masita Khan, he used to practise the sitar in the most unusual settings. For example, his description of playing the instrument against the background of Taj Mahal on a moonlit night, is the literary quintessence of his aesthetic sensibilities.

In this chiaroscuro of light and shade, suddenly the keys of the sitar burst into wordless melodies. Unbridled music mingled freely with the elements. Stars rained from heaven, and from the wound of my finger poured melody.<sup>13</sup>

Maulana wrote *Ghubar-i-Khatir* under trying circumstances; prison, the death of his wife, and the political vacuum in the country while most of the leaders were incarcerated. Despite these circumstances the book is full of hope and optimism. His positive outlook of the early forties belonged to another era when compared with the attitude reflected in some of his speeches and writings of the late forties. In various parts of the book he comments on the importance of remaining happy no matter where and

<sup>11</sup> Recording for AIR, 1947, Library of Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Azad Bhavan, New Delhi.

<sup>12</sup> *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, p. 289.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 309.



in what circumstances one happens to be:

We cannot take our proper place in this fascinating world with a dry glum face...This world in which Nature has poured the beauty of sunlight, the smile of moonbeams, the twinkling of stars, the dance of trees, the song of the birds, the music of the flowing waters and the colour of flowers. No, it is only a person with a radiant mind and warm emotions who can fit gracefully into this glowing picture, not one who has a dry forbidding face and a dead heart.<sup>14</sup>

Here again we have selected the delectables, hoping to whet the reader's appetite. We did not explore Maulana's interest in ornithology by including his two famous letters entitled "Chiriya Chire ki Kahani". This piece is already available in excellent translation.<sup>15</sup> Malcolm Macdonald, a naturalist and former British High Commissioner to India, has written about Maulana's bird-watching hobby, which coincided with his own:

Had he (Maulana) eschewed politics and resorted instead to nature study, he need not have languished so long in his confined quarters at Ahmednagar Fort, but could have roamed the wide earth in free and happy pursuit of the hobby of bird-watching.<sup>16</sup>

The selection from *Tazkirah* falls in the literary category. Although the book is an autobiography, it can equally be regarded as a treatise on religion. The autobiography portion appears in the last chapter of the book. It is at the very end that Maulana discloses the incentive for writing this book:

*Yeh auraq-e-parishan, dost-e-aziz, Mr. Fazluddin Ahmad ke behad israr se kalamband huey.*

This scrappy writing has been due to the insistence of a dear friend, Fazluddin Ahmad.

To Fazluddin Ahmad we owe one of the most unusual autobiographies ever written. An engineer by profession, Fazluddin was, "Obviously a hero-worshipper of a type which is the despair of all real heroes".<sup>17</sup> When he first broached the subject, Maulana laughed it off. "There are so many great men whose lives constitute a magnificent record, but no one has written about them. To ignore them and write about myself would be just

<sup>14</sup> Ibid , p.107. Free translation by K.G. Saiyidain.

<sup>15</sup> "Chiriya Chire Ki Kahani", translated by Khushwant Singh, *Illustrated Weekly of India*.

<sup>16</sup> Malcolm Macdonald, "Maulana Azad and the Sparrows", *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: A Memorial Volume* , edited by Humayun Kabir.

<sup>17</sup> Mohammed Mujeeb, "The Tadhkirah: Biography in Symbols", In *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad : A Memorial Volume* edited by Humayun Kabir.

ridiculous.”<sup>18</sup> One feels grateful, writes Mujeeb, that Fazluddin had no sense of humour. He pestered Maulana quietly and persistently until he was promised something every week.

The question before the editors was what to include from the three hundred odd pages of *Tazkirah*. The deciding factor was that *Tazkirah* cannot be understood unless the reader begins at the end with the author's disclosures about himself. Although Maulana is spontaneous and uninhibited about his life, he presents it from behind a decorative veil of poetic symbolism. He portrays his life so much as a spiritual adventure that the physical becomes an irrelevant detail. When Fazluddin tried to impose restrictions on his digressions, requesting him to adhere to the autobiography, Maulana wrote back:

Do not place restraints on the movement of my mind. I send you whatever my pen writes of its own accord. Go on collecting what I send. In any case it will be worthwhile.<sup>19</sup>

The third part entitled “Summing-up: The Post - Independence Phase”, includes essays, speeches and statements written during his tenure as Minister of Education, from 1947 until his death in office, 22 February, 1958. These were written when the euphoria of the freedom struggle had ended, and its fallout was evident. There was no driving force, such that had led to the predominantly religious and political writings of the last phase. Maulana wrote and spoke on a variety of subjects as required of him in his capacity as Minister of Education, Natural Resources and Scientific Research. But every time he spoke he infused the mundane officialese with his incisive thinking, crisp vocabulary, and profound vision.

Most of the speeches delivered during this period are available in English, translated and printed by the Publications Division of the Government of India. During these years, Maulana's language had become less Persianized more commonly understood Urdu. Perfection was still the hallmark of his style, but his mood had changed from the soul-stirring dialectics of his freedom-fighting days to a patient explanation of policies and programmes of the newly formed government. His voice, preserved on tape at the All India Radio still had the tenor and timber of his youthful days, and retained the quality to stir the masses. One of our selections is the address that he delivered to the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1948. It has the distinction of being available in its original draft in his own handwriting, from which it was officially translated into English. The two subjects he dealt with were crucial in the formation of an Education policy; religious instruction in schools, and Hindi as the national language.

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<sup>18</sup> *Tazkirah*, p. 16. Introduction by Fazluddin Ahmad, edited by Malik Ram.

<sup>19</sup> *Tazkirah*, p. 18.

In 1956, he addressed the Ninth Session of UNESCO held in India for the very first time. Mohammad Yunus, then a young delegate to the Conference, recalls how Maulana delivered the inaugural speech in flawless Urdu, without any notes in hand, following, page by page, the English text of his speech which was in the hands of the delegates. "At the end of the inaugural function, Jawaharlalji remarked to me, 'What an amazing memory this man has; he did not deviate a single word from the written text!' The result of his phenomenal memory is that no Urdu original exists of this particular speech."<sup>20</sup>

Maulana's artistic vision and aesthetic sensibility led to the establishment of three Akademis, Sahitya Akademi, Sangeet Natak Akademi and Lalit Kala Akademi. The same impulse transcended the national boundaries and led to the formation of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. Portions of Maulana's inaugural addresses delivered at each of these occasions have been included, to show another aspect of his personality; that of the scholar-aesthete cum administrator, anticipating the need to provide state incentives to the arts to help their growth which had been stunted by the one hundred and fifty years of near-starvation by the British regime.

The selection from his parliamentary speeches includes the historic exchange which occurred on 29 March 1954 between Maulana Azad, Minister of Education; and Purshottamdas Tandon and Seth Govind Das. A special correspondent from *The Indian Express* reported that Maulana's speech to Parliament, in response to criticisms levelled against his Ministry, evoked memories of the 30's and 40's, when, as President of Congress, he held an audience of thousands spellbound by his oratory. People in the visitors' gallery saw the two critics squirm while Maulana's word carried the day. The most poignant moment occurred when he spoke the following words:

*Main ney chaalis saal pahle apni zindagi ka program mulk ki khidmat ka banaya tha...Jab meri umr unnis saal se ziyada na thi. Us waqt se ley kar aaj tak meri zindagi ek khuli hui kitab hai ke jo duniya ke samne hai. Koi khwahish ab mere under nahin hai. Zindagi ka bahut bara hissa khatam ho gaya. Jo thora baqi hai woh na malum kab khatam ho jayega...Jab ek shakhs ney gharaz apne under se nikal di to woh bepanah ho jata hai.*<sup>21</sup>

Forty years ago when I was no more than nineteen years old I decided to dedicate my life to the service of my country. Since then my life has been an open book for the world to read. There is no desire left in me now. The bulk of my life is over. Whatever little is left will soon end...When a man is freed from

<sup>20</sup> Mohammad Yunus, Recollections to the Editor, December, 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Demands for Grants, 1954. Archives of Lok Sabha, New Delhi.



all personal motives he becomes shoreless, boundless.

During this post-Independence phase, Maulana, as Minister of Education, delivered several convocation addresses. We have selected the one he delivered soon after assuming office, entitled "Aligarh and Indian Nationalism." The significance of this address is that Maulana, for the first time vindicates himself *vis-a-vis* Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. His earlier devotion to Sir Syed and later disillusionment had caused ill feelings among various factions. This spectre was laid to rest in this address. Since this speech was available only in English the process of translation had to be reversed. The same reverse process had to be used in the case of Maulana's "Introduction" to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan *History of Philosophy* published in 1952 by Allen and Unwin. This selection reflects Maulana's scholarly approach to a subject as specialized as comparative philosophy. Its English translation has the unmistakable stamp of Maulana. For example, take the beginning,

A Persian poet has compared the universe to an old manuscript of which the first and the last pages have been lost. It is no longer possible to say how the book began, nor do we know how it is likely to end.

*Maz aghaz-o-za-anjam-e-jahan bekhavar em*  
*Awwal-o-akhir ein ek kuhna kitab uftad ast.*

Maulana's last work *India Wins Freedom* was posthumously published in January 1959. Aside from the fact that it was dictated to Humayun Kabir, who acted as his amanuensis, it is the only piece of writing bearing Maulana's name which was originally published in English. Its Urdu version entitled *Hamari Azadi* was the work of Prof. Mohammad Mujeeb. Without getting into the polemics of the thirty pages which have, unfortunately, become Maulana's major claim to fame during his centenary year, something needs to be said about the style of the entire work. Allowing for the differences in the Urdu and English idiom, plus the fact of dictation versus writing; the fact of the matter is that, stylistically, *India Wins Freedom* has no resemblance to *Tazkirah*, *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, and *Ghubar-i-Khatir*. Even the "Introduction" to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's *History of Philosophy*, the text of which is available in English, not in the original Urdu, has, as said earlier, the stylistic stamp of Maulana's philosophical and literary bent of mind.

The fact that *India Wins Freedom* was the result of Humayun Kabir's conversations with Maulana may account for the reportage style which is characteristic of Kabir, not Maulana. In this context it is interesting to recall that Fazluddin Ahmad, the diligent biographer-editor of *Tazkirah*, came to Ranchi armed with fifteen questions which would chronologize Maulana's life; but he was unable to get a single straightforward answer. He had to be content with the resplendent obliqueness of style that makes

*Tazkirah* the world's most unusual autobiography. On the other hand, Humayun Kabir, while recording the events that comprise *India Wins Freedom*, was able to persuade Maulana to stick to a chronological narration of facts. A factual and interesting chapter of the book, "Quit India" has been selected for inclusion in this anthology.

Maulana's epistolary skills were of the highest order. The most famous collection of his letters is *Ghubar-i-Khatir*. These letters were written to a friend Nawab Sadr Yar Jung, who he always addressed as *Sadeeq-e-Mukarram*.<sup>22</sup> In this case Maulana used the epistolary form for expository writing. These letters were held in a file during his prison term at Ahmednagar, and reached the addressee only after his release in June of 1945. There are other letters, some collected and published, such as *Makateeb-e-Abul Kalam* by Abu Salman Shahjehanpuri; others unpublished, but preserved in the manuscript collections of several libraries. From the hundreds of letters, the few selected as part four of this volume are addressed to two individuals who had a profound influence on his life; his mentor Mahatma Gandhi, and his lifelong friend Jawaharlal Nehru. These letters are a simple expression of the mutual respect and regard in which they held each other. On June 27, 1946, Maulana wrote to Mahatma Gandhi on a very sensitive subject, the conversion to Islam of his son Harilal:

You have asked me if such a conversion is permissible in Islam and that is it a proper way that the spreading of Islam should be exhibited thus? In Islam the question of religion is one purely concerned with the soul and heart, and no conversion can ever be a true conversion if even the shadow of any worldly interest is reflected in it. What the Prophet of Islam has taught is that "All the deeds of a man solely depend upon his motive;" and that "God does not look into mere words and showy deeds, but He sees the very depth of heart and the motive in it."<sup>23</sup>

Letters, telegrams, and memoranda exchanged between these three leaders, touch on several important issues. A few miscellaneous letters and memoranda have been included as part four because of their unique content.

Having briefly discussed the selections included in this volume what is left to complete this introductory note is an overview of the training and background of the author that enabled him to produce such well-wrought pieces of writings.

Fatima Begum, Maulana Azad's elder sister, described his childhood to Khwaja Ahmad Faruqi in the following words:

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<sup>22</sup> The Arabic word *Sadeeq* means "Friend", *Mukarram* means "worthy of respect".

<sup>23</sup> Unpublished letter from Maulana Azad to Mahatma Gandhi, *Sabarmati Series*, National Gandhi Museum and Library, Rajghat, New Delhi.

The late Maulana Azad, may God bless him, was four years younger than I. Both of us were born in Mecca. When Azad was ten years old, father brought us to Calcutta, where a large number of his devotees resided. My brother, whose real name was Mohiuddin Ahmad, Azad being his *nom de plume*, was educated at home under father's supervision. Azad was a fair poet. Two lines he composed at the age of fourteen are still fresh in my memory.

*Azad bekhudi ke nashebofaraz dekh  
Puchhi zamin ki to kahi aasman ki.*

*Azad, see how my restlessness soars high and low,  
Ask it something of the earth  
And it replies in terms of the skies.<sup>24</sup>*

One of Maulana Azad's ancestors, Maulana Jamaluddin, alias Shaikh Bahlol, was a contemporary of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. He was one of the few scholars who refused to sign the statement acclaiming the king as the founder of a new religious order. Jamaluddins's son Sheikh Mohammad, emulated his father by refusing to pay homage to Emperor Jahangir. He was imprisoned for his insubordination at the Gwalior Fort. In *Tazkirah*, Azad chronicles the life of Shaikh Jamaluddin, expressing great satisfaction in his ancestor's disdain for worldliness:

The idea that (by the grace of God) our family had always distinguished itself in the pursuit of learning and the zeal to serve the cause of *Hadith* and *Sunnah*, that from the very beginning our claim to distinction consisted in that we preferred poverty, loved to sit on the bare ground, and shunned success, which made people speak reverently of us as "steadfast" in the observance of the *Sunnah* beyond the pale of worldly temptations, gladdened my heart and made my mind drunk with happiness.<sup>25</sup>

Maulana Munawaruddin, Azad's great-grandfather, became frustrated with the conditions prevailing in India around 1855, and decided to migrate to Hedjaz. His point of departure was Bombay. On his way, he passed through Bhopal where Nawab Sikander Begum, then ruler of Bhopal, persuaded him to stay on. Finally, Maulana Munawaruddin proceeded to Bombay, where he was further detained by his followers, and there he died some time during 1858-59. Munawaruddin's grandson, Maulana Khairuddin (Azad's father) continued the journey alone to Hedjaz. There he lived in the company of scholars and divines, and in 1870-71 married an Arab woman Aliya, niece of one of his teachers Sheikh Mohammed Zahid Vatri. Maulana Khairuddin had five children, three daughters, Zainab, Fatima and

<sup>24</sup> *Aajkal*, Sept. 1959, Quoted by Arsh Malsiani, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, 1967.

<sup>25</sup> *Tazkirah*, p.302, edited by Malik Ram.

Hanifa, and two sons, Abu Nasr Ghulam Yaseen, and Abu'l Kalam Mohiuddin Ahmad. With the exception of the eldest sister, the rest of the children composed verses. The two girls gave themselves poetic names "Arzoo" and "Abroo" and the two brothers were "Aah" and "Azad."

Azad was born in Mecca during the month of *Zil Hijj* in 1305 A.H. Relating it to the Christian calendar it appears that Maulana's date of birth was some time between August 9 and September 6, 1888. Humayun Kabir, in the Commemoration Volume, has given his date as Nov. 11, 1888, but no other source corroborates this evidence. Maulana's father gave him the chronogrammatic name, Feroz Bakht. In 1898 Maulana Khairuddin moved with his family to Calcutta. Here, by the time he was fifteen years old, Azad had completed the *Dars-e-Nizami* or the standard Islamic curriculum, a feat ordinary students could seldom attain even at a much later age. This, however, was the sum total of Azad's formal education. Contrary to popular belief Azad did not study at Al Azhar University at Cairo. This error was perpetrated by Mahadev Desai in his biographical study, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing Parliament the day after Maulana died, went on record verifying the "extraordinary persistence of this error". Himself, Azad was critical of the educational system of Al Azhar. In *Ghubar-i-Khatir* he wrote that the more recent Indian books on rational sciences were not permitted at Al Azhar. Jamaluddin Afghani could not find books for his lectures and Abduh left the University in disgust.<sup>26</sup>

Under the eagle eye of his father, Azad followed a strict academic routine. Maulana Khairuddin's rigid authoritarian methods are described in *Ghubar-i-Khatir*. The first lesson was memorization. Every subject had first to be committed to memory. The day would begin by the father teaching his two sons, but not permitting them to interrupt him by asking questions. His lectures were usually so thorough that at the end of the day there was no question to be asked. This emphasis on rote developed Azad's phenomenal memory. Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi quotes Azad's description of his own mind:

I...have made compartments in my brain, hundreds and thousands of compartments. This compartment for law, this for international politics, this for history, this for mathematics, this for military science. I accumulate information in an orderly and systematic fashion, like a discriminating, accomplished, storekeeper, in separate compartments. Whenever information is required at any particular time, I open the appropriate compartment and keep the others closed.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Quoted by Ian Henderson Douglas, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: An Intellectual and Religious Biography*, p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> Abdur Razzaq Malihabadi, *Zikr-e-Azad*. Quoted by Ian Henderson Douglas *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: An Intellectual and Religious Biography*, p. 41

Commenting on this statement, Douglas writes that Azad's description, unwittingly, reveals the weakness of his training. "His training actually militated against the integration of his knowledge, the relation of knowledge in one area to knowledge in another. To some extent, of course, Azad's intelligence enabled him to overcome the effect of his early training."<sup>28</sup>

Azad had strong urge to talk about what he learnt. It was a regular practice during his early youth, for fifty to sixty people to gather outside the audience room in Azad's house. After evening prayers they would ask him questions on various religious matters. Azad was no more than ten or eleven years old at that time, but with a mixture of love and respect they called him Pirzada. People listened to him with rapt attention and applauded every word he uttered. Later, he was to describe these discourses as youthful "nonsense" chattered before this group of disciples.

Within a very short period, Azad escaped from this regimented life into the space of free enquiry. This was the result of several outside influences. Even while he was being drilled by his father, he secretly indulged in reading Urdu literature, which opened his mind to new vistas. At the same time, he became interested in music and started learning the sitar. He privately questioned his father's hatred for the Wahabis, and, even while accepting the disciples' adulation of his father, began to dislike the same treatment when it was meted out to him.

Suddenly, when I was at most thirteen years old, my heart became disgusted with my present circumstances and what I saw around me.... Now when people kissed my hands and feet, I felt as if some great evil were taking place.<sup>29</sup>

He also started questioning the fact that the beliefs he had been brought up with were nothing but "*Taqlid* of ancestors, devotion to ancient customs, and inherited dogma". Many years later, he was to summarize his quest for truth, which began at age thirteen and found its fulfilment almost thirty years later when he produced *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*.

The zest for truth never forsook me. There is hardly a single conviction in me which has not had to bear the stings of doubt or a single belief which has not faced the test of denial. I have gulped in poison mixed with every draught applied to my lips, and have also administered to myself elixir coming forth from every quarter. Whenever I felt thirsty, my parched lips did not resemble the lips of others who were equally thirsty and when I quenched my thirst, it was not from the same fountain as

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> *Zikr-e-Azad*, quoted by Ian Henderson Douglas, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: An Intellectual and Religious Biography*, p. 50



others did.<sup>30</sup>

The works included in this volume should be read against this background of Azad's childhood and years of preparation. On the subject of childhood, his sister Fatima Begum wondered whether Azad had a childhood at all. "Indeed it may be said that Azad never had a childhood...It seemed to us that his tiny shoulders bore quite an adult mind." His contemporaries, like Sarojini Naidu, remarked that he was fifty the day he was born! In a letter to Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed somewhat similar views:

Perhaps he grew up too soon, and was much too precocious. He is not old now by any means, and yet there has always been a ripe maturity about him, and it was difficult to think of him as wild and passionate youth."<sup>31</sup>

In *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, Maulana seems to corroborate this view by relating an incident from his childhood years:

People spend their childhood in fun and games. Not me. From the age of twelve or thirteen I used to take my book and try to hide from the rest of the world. You must have seen the Dalhousie Square in Calcutta? It is located in front of the GPO, and is popularly called *Lal Duggi*. In that square was a cluster of trees. From outside one could never guess that there was a clearing inside, with a bench for browsing. There I went and became engrossed in reading. Father's special servant Hafiz Wali Ullah, who used to accompany me, paced up and down, outside the cluster, muttering, "If you had to read the book, why did you leave the house?"<sup>32</sup>

Notwithstanding the veracity of these statements, there is another aspect of Azad's life which his contemporaries never described, perhaps because they were not privy to it. There is an underlying assumption that because Maulana did not have a typical childhood, he did not lead a full-blooded life. But Maulana himself wrote about it, albeit behind the veil of metaphoric expression. The last chapter of *Tazkirah* is a candid expression of this lesser known part of his life.

Stupor and oblivion cast their spell. Intoxication filled the cups. Youth's frenzy took me by the hand. The path shown by desire and lust was reckoned by the yielding heart to be the one that led to the destination. Wisdom and awareness were at first taken by surprise. Then they too nodded in assent, that this was indeed the

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<sup>30</sup> *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, preface to the first edition, p. xiii. Translated by Syed Abdul Lateef.

<sup>31</sup> *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, edited S.Gopal, p.39.

<sup>32</sup> *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, p. 112

right path and the right time to enjoy life. As the poet says,  
 Don't be offended, O Saqi,  
 At my behaviour.  
 For it is the time of my youth.

Later, thinking over this period of youthful abandon, he was to write in *Ghubar-i-Khatir* :

At the age of twenty-four, when other people commence the intoxicating journey of pleasurable youth, I had completed my wanderings in the wilderness, and was picking out the thorns from my blistered feet. Thus even in this respect, I was contrary to the usual run of things. At that stage when people gird up their loins for action, I was putting off my belt.<sup>33</sup>

To prepare the reader for the selected works which follow, one could write at greater length about Azad's life. But to quote one of Azad's favourite couplets of Mir,

*Kaam they Ishq mein bahut par Mir*  
*Hum to farigh huey shitaabi sey.*  
 Love had ordered many tasks, O Mir !  
 But we got through in a hurry.

Having discussed the problem of translation, the *raison d'être* for the selections, and, finally, the preparatory years of Azad's life, we have fulfilled the purpose of this introductory note. For a detailed background we refer the reader to the chronological chart appended to this volume.

To summarize, Azad's writing is the *tilism*, a microcosm which holds within its prism the quintessence of the first half of the twentieth century. To commemorate his centenary year, these selections, his literary and intellectual legacy, are being presented in three languages to enable the people of India and of several other parts of the world to become acquainted with one of the finest minds of the century. One would think that Maulana Azad would have approved of these volumes being presented in the spirit of this couplet from Dr. Iqbal's "Saqi Nama".

*Yehi kucch hai saqi mata-e-faqir,*  
*Isi se faqiri me hoon main ameer.*

It makes me rich in my poverty,  
 O Saqi! This is the entire legacy of a faqir.

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<sup>33</sup> *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, letter dated Oct. 12, 1942; pp. 136-7.

# **PART I**

## **Brilliant Beginnings: 1899-1916 Journalistic Experimentation**





***Lisan-ul-Sidq***

**Voice of Truth**

**“The responsibility and duty of *Lisan-ul-Sidq* is to guard against falsehood and lead the nation on the path of truth.”**

## ***Lisan-ul-Sidq\****

### **Aims and Objectives**

“Truth redeems and falsehood kills”. The responsibility and duty of *Lisan-ul-Sidq* is to guard against falsehood and lead the nation on the path of truth. As it has been assigned the duty of speaking nothing but the truth, the nation should not expect it to trill sweet music. Since truth is always bitter, the “language of truth” cannot be sweet. It expresses itself in harsh words and bitter criticism which is not always palatable, in fact is often quite irksome. Not far is the time when “redemption through truth”, and “death through falsehood” will become apparent to you.

The aims and objectives of this journal are as follows:

1. Social reform i.e. reform in Muslim society and customs.
2. Promotion of Urdu, i.e. extending the scope of scholarly literature in the Urdu language.
3. Propagation of literary taste, particularly in Bengal.
4. Criticism, i.e. objective reviews of Urdu publications.

### **Explication of Objectives**

**Social Reform:** The primary reason why these absurd customs became second nature to us was the negligence of religious scholars which made the common man regard them as part of the religion and binding on every Muslim. Certain customs meant monetary gains to the ulemas, and this prevented them from affecting any change. When no reforms were introduced and the customs persisted for a long time, they became an

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\* In 1903, Azad launched the fortnightly *Lisan-ul-Sidq*, “The Voice of Truth”, his first attempt at starting his own journal. This article from the issue dated 20 November 1903, states the objectives of *Lisan-ul-Sidq*. The part selected above is an elaboration of the objective of social reform. Maulana's writing at the age of fifteen reflects social awareness, analytical prowess and clarity of purpose. In terms of the evolution of style and content it is interesting to compare this piece of writing with what followed nine years later as the supernova journalism of *Al-Hilal*.

integral part of our daily life.\*

During its last phase, the Muslim empire experienced a period of degenerate luxury. In Lucknow this decadent life style spawned new customs. There is no doubt that many obnoxious customs, related to happy and sad occasions, emanated from the courtly and carefree life of Lucknow. When India entered a new phase, having been influenced by a new civilization, it became difficult to continue the old practices. Production of goods and acquisition of education became prime necessities. Despite this, however, customs and usages remained intact. A special custom marked every occasion, and every one continued to observe it. Since the original financial resources were no longer available, practising old customs and usages proved ruinous for hundreds of families. Thousands of rupees were squandered on festive occasions. Social pressures were such that no one dared to deviate from the established norm.

On the subject of the Indian social conditions, one of our Turkish friends told us that the main reason for India's poverty was its customs and usages, which, under social duress, forced people to squander money. In Lucknow you will often come across cases where a loan of Rs.5000 is drawn for the marriage of "Babban Mian" or two houses are mortgaged for the circumcision ceremony of "Chhuttan Mian". The families, having no other means of income, are reduced to starvation. If such ceremonies had been performed simply, these two families would have been spared the penury.

Adherence to customs and usages has given birth to many evils in India but, unfortunately, to date, no one has attempted to eradicate them, and this virus continues to spread in the nation. Some people maintain that other reforms are more urgent. They feel that if society becomes hostile to social reforms and starts to suspect the motives of those who try to affect them, their efforts in this direction would be doomed. The other possibility is that the more urgent reforms will never get underway.

Other people believe that when education becomes widespread and modern ideas filter down the social strata, people will automatically start thinking about reforms. It is, therefore, premature to introduce them at this moment. These beliefs have prevented the introduction of social reforms. Silence of the physician and ignorance of the patient has, unfortunately, made the disease incurable. If we persist in this attitude, the disease will develop immunity to every treatment and the best of the physicians will be unable to cure it.

The first party, referred to as "the majority", is engaged in several

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\* Dwelling on the first objective of *Lisan-ul-Sidq*, namely, social reform, Azad observes that due to the historical process and social ethos, the customs and usages of Muslims in the 19th century had lost their pristine Arab simplicity and Iranian polish. He then proceeds to analyze the cause of the corruption that had crept into these customs and usages and suggests remedial measures.

reforms, which are, indeed, essential for the nation. But the fact of the matter is that the “reform of customs and usages” is the one vital factor on which all other reforms depend. Lack of education among Muslims is due mainly to their adherence to customs. In many families learning the English language is taboo because they have to conform to a traditional curriculum which is enforced by custom. “If English is taught to children say the parents, “They will have no time for their traditional education”. They believe that this will be a violation of established social norms. Adherence to these time-worn customs has created many obstacles in the way of reforms which can be removed only by the reforms themselves. It is, therefore, a mistake to regard “other” reforms more important and to delegate these to a secondary position. The second argument given is that since customs and usages are valued by our people, any effort to eradicate them will create hatred for the reformers and is likely to impede the progress of all other reforms as well. But it is a well-known fact that every effort to introduce reforms has always met with opposition. Our effort to popularize the learning of the English language, got us defamatory appellations and hatred, a slander which we are not likely to forget. If efforts are made to reform people who have been steeped in ignorance for a long time, whatever its form or manifestation, they will arouse people’s ire. To ignore an important set of reforms such as those related to customs and usages is a serious mistake.

For the second party to expect that when education becomes universal, people will opt for reforms is a misplaced expectation. Experience has shown that ancient customs and usages which are handed down from generation to generation are not terminated by education. The pressures of society and family culture often overcome the effects of education. An educated person, outside his four walls seems free and civilized, but once inside, he is bonded to ancient customs. The effects of education, which make him civilized and free outside, are neutralised inside, under the weight of customs. No doubt education creates certain feelings, but to sustain these very feelings a strong movement is needed. Unless that movement creates a powerful inclination in that direction, the individual may not agree to eschew these customs. The name of that movement is *reform*, and, the time has come to try to accomplish it. This is no time for idle talk and purposeless discussions. We must, at once, begin what we desire to accomplish.

It is very fortunate that the Mohammedan Educational Conference and Nadwatul Ulema have concentrated their efforts on cultural reforms. At present we do not want to enter a discussion about the past activities of Nadwatul Ulema. But since its Delhi session, the Conference has started educational work which deserves our full attention. The expectation is that these efforts will yeild tangible results.

*The Conference has created a separate Department of Cultural Reform.*

A well-known ex-student of Aligarh College, Mr. Khwaja Ghulam-ul-Saqalain, has been appointed its Secretary, who richly deserves this position. To serve this purpose Khwaja Sahib has started a journal called *Asr-e-Jadid*, thereby creating a method of enrolling members who will be asked to take a pledge not to observe any customs. We appreciate these efforts of Khwaja Sahib and hope that when he presents the record of his good work at the Bombay Conference; the entire gathering will value it. In view of its importance, the objective of cultural reform has been added to the aims of *Lisan-ul-Sidq*. However, since the most harmful customs concern society, the journal will continue to give greater priority to social reforms.





*Al-Hilal*  
**Objectives and Political Message**

*Al-Hilal*  
*Maqasid aur Political Taleem*

“It should be the duty of Muslims to make every effort to achieve Independence, and, according to their religious precepts, they should not rest until they have established a parliamentary form of government.”

## *Al-Hilal*

# Objectives and Political Message\*

This week, I had already planned to write an article on this subject, but when I received this note from an esteemed friend, the need to do so became imperative. He wrote:

Even after I had read the seven volumes of *Al-Hilal*, word for word, it was unclear to me what political doctrine you want to preach? A significant fundamental principle that you seem to believe in, and which invokes great respect for you in my heart is that you consider religion and the Quran to be the cure for whatever ails the Muslims; and you want to invoke a true (not merely a formal) spirit of Islam in them. Many others also subscribe to this principle, but the truth is that no one can translate it into practice better than you can. Only a few of your writings have appeared so far, but they reflect your profound understanding of the truths and mysteries of the Quran. But, begging your pardon, you mix politics in religion in a manner such that it becomes difficult to distinguish one from the other. I do believe that, like me, hundreds of the readers of *Al-Hilal* must be concerned about this matter. You should, therefore, first explain your policy, and, secondly, by separating political doctrine from religious ideas, define the direction in which you want to lead the community?

There is one direction which we have followed so far; the other one is that of the moderate Hindus who, while endorsing the continuance of British imperialism, have submitted the demands for their rights. The third way is that of the Hindu

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\* *Al-Hilal*, September 8, 1912. The first issue of *Al-Hilal* was dated 13 July, 1912. It was an illustrated weekly magazine. The opening number contained photographs of Azad's three mentors: Al Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, Sheikh Mohammad Abduh and Al Syed Mohammad Rashid Raza. This article was published in Vol.I, no. 8.

anarchists who want to use grenades and guns to rid *Bharat Mata* of the foreign rule. Tell us, please, which is your way, and with whom do you want us to throw our lot? Once we know, we shall either follow you all the way, or abide with you in religious matters, and dissociate from all others. What I wish to say is, simply, that I don't know what obstacles you must have overcome before you started such a mighty mission. There is no doubt that your interest is genuine. As for your scholarship and erudition, especially in matters of religion, words fail in its praise. These qualities are not always available to our unfortunate community. I hope that all this potential is not wasted (God forbid), and the community is not deprived of the benefit of your wisdom.

I intended to start with a comprehensive series of articles on the objectives of *Al-Hilal* and codify the goals and objectives of our journey. Certain issues arose, however, on which I felt compelled to write immediately. I had to plunge into the main body of the work, even before writing its preface. I am grateful to my esteemed friend, who brought this matter to the forefront.

The words in which he has extolled my religious views and writings are a reflection of the affection of an elder for youth. I must confess that I do not find myself worthy of his words of praise. Perhaps, I am familiar with religious precepts, but the mysteries of the Holy Quran are not accessible to my rudimentary understanding. The words he has used about me in his letter are quite startling. If knowledge of Arabic were needed to understand the truth and mysticism in the Quran, then, I do admit that I know a little Arabic. If religious knowledge were enough, I could try to acquire it. If a study of the commentaries was required, there are several such books in my possession which I would read. But all this is of no use. The first prerequisite is piety of soul and purity of heart. Alas! I possess neither one of these virtues. A heart which is devoid of the wealth of piety, and a prisoner of sensual pleasures and worldly affairs, cannot, even momentarily, become the repository for the truths and mysteries of the Quran. Scholarship and erudition are of no use, mind and intellect of no value.

Believe my words! A man without piety, even if he has scaled all the degrees of erudition and scholarship, cannot partake of the mysteries and deeper meanings of the Quran. Judge for yourself; if this be the criterion, where do I stand?

A few points in the above letter deserve special attention:

1. Political debates should be separated from religious education.
2. Among the existing political parties in India, which does *Al-Hilal* support?

About the first, I believe that you have questioned the very foundation on which I want to build the structure of *Al-Hilal*. If you had said that an arch was not attractive, perhaps, I could change it. But if you want the girders at the base to be removed, I am afraid I cannot comply with your desire. I view every branch of human activity from the perspective of religion. If I take any guidance, it is from the Holy Quran; save that, I know nothing. My eyes are closed to the rest of the scenery and my ears deaf to all other sounds. If light were needed, believe me, I have the one and only light given to us by the "source of all light". Remove it, and I will be struck blind. "The Quran has been revealed to mankind to bring them from darkness to light." You say, separate politics from religion; but if I do so what will remain? I have derived my politics from religion. My ideas not only have a religious bias, they are themselves the product of religion. How can I separate them from religion? In my creed, any idea derived from a source other than the Quran is outright blasphemous: in this I include politics.

It is unfortunate that you people have never seen Islam in its pristine glory. Else, for your political guidance you need neither bow at the doors of the government nor follow the Hindus. You could have derived everything from the Quran, the book which enabled you to teach everything to the world. Islam has brought a comprehensive and perfect system for mankind. There is not a single sphere of human activity for which it does not provide guidance. The Islamic principle of *Tawhid*, or "Oneness of God" is much too upright, it would never tolerate the fact that one who submits before it, should knock at other doors. Whether it is ethical, educational, political, cultural, religious, or the temporal life of the Muslims; whether the life of the ruler or the ruled, it provides the most perfect system for all. Had it not been so, it could not have ordained the world's final and universal religion. It is the voice of God. Its school is the divine circle of God. The one who gives his hand to God needs no human guide.

It has often been said that the Quranic word is *Noor* or light, and where there is light, darkness is dispelled: whether it is the darkness of religion or of political waywardness.

Verily, there hath come to you from God a (new) light and a perspicuous Book, wherewith God guideth all who seek His approval, to ways of peace and safety and leadeth them out of darkness, into the light, and guideth them to the path that is straight. (15:5).

Is there any book in the world which has, on its own strength, made such majestic claims? The above verse clearly states that the Holy Quran is light; and thereby, the only means of removing the darkness of human misdeeds. It is further stated; that everything in it has been explicitly

explained, and there is no branch of human activity for which it does not have a guideline. This thought recurs at another place in the Quran:

Verily! I gave them the Book and I made it explicit with knowledge; it is a guide and a blessing for those who believe.

The next verse says that the Quran is a guide for the ways of safety, for it leads one to the ways of well-being. If you believe that political activity must have a direction, there is no reason why you cannot find it in the Quran. Again, it is stated that it brings men out of the pit of wantonness into the light of guidance. If we find ourselves in political wilderness, it is because we have not allowed ourselves to benefit from the guiding spirit of the Quran. Otherwise, instead of being plunged in darkness there would have been a pool of light all around us. And, finally, it states that it leads to the *Sirat-al-Mustaqueem* or the "Straight Path". In the interpretation of the Quran, the "Straight Path" is all-inclusive and all-comprehensive; it encompasses the entire world.

Unfortunately, this is no occasion for a lengthy discourse, but this discussion has brought hundreds of verses to mind. At one place it has been said:

(Oh! Prophet), I have bestowed upon you a book, wherein everything has been explained explicitly and which is a guide and a blessing for those who believe.

In the last verse of the *Surah-e-Yusuf* (XII), it is stated:

The Quran is not a tale invented, but a confirmation of truths that went before it. It is a detailed exposition of all things, and a Guide and Mercy for those who believe.

At another place it has been proclaimed:

I have given all sorts of examples for men to seek guidance from.

In these verses, the assertion of the Quran is very explicit. It claims to be the perfect guide for all branches of knowledge. Its messages are clear and unambiguous, provided one ponders over them.

Praise be to God who has bestowed the Quran on His servants and has not allowed any ambiguity in it.

How is it possible that its followers seek guidance from other sources when they have the Quran as a command, and an *Imam-i-Mubeen* (guide manifest)?

Everything has been taken account of in this explicit book.

At another place, it has been called the *Quol-e-Faisal*, last word in all matters.

Verily, the Quran is the last word for all divergences and action;  
Nothing in it is meaningless or superfluous.

All the miseries of the Muslims are due to their negligence and due to the fact that they have turned from this divine source of guidance, and thought that they needed to look upon it only in regard to religious rituals, like *Roza* and *Namaz*. They did not realise its importance in all aspects, educational, cultural and political. The more they turned away from the Quran, the faster the world slipped away from them. Whichever direction they took they were misled and they fell into the depths of darkness. The Quran had predicted these times:

On the day of judgement the Prophet of God would say, Oh my Lord! My people took the Quran for nonsense and did not act according to it.

I believe that if at the time of the revelation of the Quran the polytheists of Mecca had shunned and overlooked it, they had not committed any greater sin than what the Muslims all over the world, including temporal or religious leaders, have been doing for centuries. If at the time of the recitation of the Quran, those heathens used to put their fingers in their ears, or shouted and clapped in the *Kaaba* so that nobody could hear its verses; the Muslims of today, have done no less. They have closed their hearts if not their ears. And though they are physically quiet, the cacophony of their wordly affairs has created such a din that nobody hears the call of God:

O Prophet, when you recite the Quran, we put between you and those who do not believe in the hereafter an invisible veil; we put coverings over their hearts lest they should understand the Quran; and deafness into their ears lest they should hear.

Thus, if this is the cause of your anxiety, I am sorry, I cannot remove it. If I could not find time to present my objectives in detail, no matter. They can as well be stated briefly. The real purpose of *Al-Hilal* is no more than to invite the Muslims to follow the Quran in their belief and actions, and act according to the precedent set by the Prophet. It wants to see the Muslims as true Muslims, whether in the educational, cultural, political or any other sphere of activity. Its only message is, "Come towards the Book of God which is common between us and which nobody can deny as a basic belief." In actual fact the situation is different. "With their lips they say, 'We believe', but in their hearts they have no faith."

God exalts you before His Word; why do you, then, turn away from it and bow your heads in humiliation before man? Except for this, *Al-Hilal's* education has no other objective:

And whose counsel can be better than one who beckons us towards God, does good deeds and says, "I am a Muslim".



Your second question is that there are three streams of political thought in India. Along which one does *Al-Hilal* want to lead the community? You have listed the three, but it is unfortunate that you have completely forgotten the fourth one. These three paths have emerged only now, but the fourth is the one which has delivered thousands to their destinations. When the creator of the earth, bestowed upon men eyes with which to see, He also opened before them this path. Adam followed it; and while being pelted with rocks, Noah preached about it. Abraham constructed the sacrificial altar and Ismail laid the bricks, as a memento to its greatness. When a fellow prisoner in Egypt asked Yusuf, he guided him towards this very same path. When Moses became restless for light in the valley of Yemen, the beacon light of this path was shown to him in a green tree. When the Israelite preacher of Galilee climbed the mountain near Jerusalem, his eyes were on this path, and when God's radiance shone on the peaks of Faran, he, too, invited the world to follow this path:

God has fixed for your religion the same path which He had ordered Noah to follow. O, Prophet! That very path is revealed to you; and we ordered Abraham, Moses and Jesus to adhere to this path and let no dissensions occur.

This is the path about which Yusuf, imprisoned in Egypt, concluded in his sermon:

This is the right path, but most men do not understand.

The Prophet of Islam was ordered to tell the people:

This is my way; I invite you unto God. I and my followers are embarked on this road of faith with our eyes open.

Thank God, we belong to the category of "my followers." Therefore, we need have nothing to do with the three ways created by man. we should invite all to walk along the fourth, or the divine path, the straight path shown by the Quran. It is my belief that any Muslim who seeks guidance in matters of faith and action from any group or ideology other than the Quran is not a Muslim. He is an infidel because he creates alternatives for the Quran which amounts to creating alternatives for God.

### **Muslims have their own political path**

You ask, "The Hindus have two political groups, which of them are you with?" I have to say that I am with neither of them, but only with God. There is too much dignity and grace in Islam, for its votaries to have to follow the Hindus in order to delineate their political policy. Nothing can be more demeaning for the Muslims than having to determine their course by submitting to the political precepts of others. They need not belong to any group; they should be the ones to make the world join their group and guide it along their way: they have done this for centuries. If they



stand in the presence of God, the whole world will stand with them. When their path has been clearly defined, why should they knock at others' doors in search of a way? God exalts them, why should they bow their heads? They are God's own *Jamaat*. It is inconceivable that heads that bow before Him should bend at other altars as well.

### Where does the road lead?

The message of *Al-Hilal* in politics, like in other fields, is not to put one's faith in government, nor follow the precepts of the Hindus. Follow only the *Sirat-al-Mustaqueem*, the path shown by Islam.

1. The basic tenet of Islam is *Tawhid*. It teaches us to believe only in God and to submit only before God. One should only ask for His help and rely on His benevolence. *Tawhid* means belief in the oneness of God; and not attributing his qualities to any other being. Except for God there is none whose command is final, none who is worthy of submission and humility, none whose domination and greatness is beyond question, and none worthy of fear.
2. God has made the Muslims *Khairul-ummam*, benefactors of mankind, and bestowed upon them the vicegerency on earth. Therefore, every Muslim should realise his status and instead of misery, cowardice and fear should inculcate dignity, self-esteem, courage and steadfastness.
3. God has proclaimed Muslims as the force of justice. He has decreed that all their actions should be based on justice and moderation. Muslims must, therefore, always be balanced in their views and act with moderation.
4. Muslims are the messengers of peace on earth; even if they took to the sword, it was for peace. If miscreancy is forbidden to others, for Muslims it is a deadly sin. The miscreant communities have become the victims of divine wrath.
5. The Quran teaches : "Help each other in good deeds and acts of piety and not in creating trouble." God has given Muslims the responsibility to protect goodness and prevent disorder. So they should help all who are engaged in doing good, be it the government or any other organisation.
6. The Quran considers it essential for the world order to oppose individual authority and control. It teaches that except for God no one has the right to compel people to follow the rules made for his private reasons.

No man to whom God has given the Book, Wisdom and Prophethood, has the right to say to people, "Worship me instead of God".

No worldly power or government has the right or authority that was even

denied to the Prophets. God says that His wisdom lies in the community and the group, "God's hand is placed over the group". He regards as legitimate only that government which is not individualistic, but in the hands of a community or nation. That is why He commands that there be mutual consultation:

He commanded them to do everything by mutual consultation.

O Prophet! Accomplish all work and deeds by consultation.

It should be the duty of Muslims to make every effort to achieve Independence and, according to their religious precepts, they should not rest until they have established a parliamentary form of government.

On the above-stated principles we can frame our political policy; we neither need the policy of the moderate Hindus nor that of the extremists. If we form our own, we shall be a moderate but fearless group, from which no party needs fear any harm. In accordance with our religious precepts, we shall strive for the progress and independence of our country. Our efforts will have no element of mischief, turmoil, uproar or rebellion. The Quran has taught us:

Do not create disturbance after peace has been brought on the earth.

Undoubtedly, the British government has created peaceful conditions, under which we perform our religious duties freely. It should be our creed to dissociate from those who create trouble, be they anarchist Hindus or criminal organisations. If possible, we should try to reform them.

The government should remember that if we become true Muslims, it will be equally advantageous to it, to ourselves, as well as to our neighbours. If we become true Muslims, we will hold the Quran in our hands, and the hand that holds the Quran cannot hold the bomb. It must be understood that Islam has taught us two lessons, that of giving freedom, as well as of seeking it. When we were the rulers we bestowed liberty and now that we are the ruled, we demand the same. We believe that it is the Will of God that nations and countries should be given the freedom for self-rule. Europe achieved independence only by following this principle. We demand from Britain precisely what, until recently, she had sought for itself.

Undoubtedly, if we have before us the political path shown by Islam, we shall be a powerful group, fearless and uninhibited in speaking the truth, because we fear none but God. But by the same principles of Islam, the law, and the government, need have no apprehensions so far as we are concerned. Since our path would be clear and our mind free of doubts, our preaching and our practice will be identical. We may be enraged, but our rage and agitation would be within the limits of good behaviour, because God commands us, "Do not create trouble". So far, the leaders of the Muslims tried to keep the community silent and ignorant, and allowed their

sores to bleed internally. They tried to hide the flames under a heap of ashes. But if we follow the true path, our lacerations would not be on our hearts, they will be written on our faces. The cancers of our complaints and aspirations will not fester internally and injure the wholesome body of peace. We shall, no doubt, cry out, but no ill feelings will remain in our hearts. We shall complain, but will not nurse the consuming fires. So it is in the interest of the government to let us become true Muslims, because in that capacity we shall be as beneficial for the whole world as well as for ourselves.

This is *Al-Hilal's* policy and this is the call we have to give to the Muslims. This is not the innovation of any human mind nor is it the emulation of any human group. The Lord of the Universe, who has sent his Prophets on earth, with Books and Wisdom, Justice and Fairness, has shown us this path. Provided I have His blessings, I will devote my life to the propagation of this path of righteousness. It is neither against any other path, nor is it a matter of dispute. I expect neither favour nor appreciation. God's command to the Prophet is before me as an example:

O Prophet! Call them to faith. And stand steadfast as thou art commanded. Nor follow thou their desire: but say, I believe in all the Books which God has sent down. And I am commanded to perform justice on you. God is our Lord and your Lord. For us the responsibility for our deeds, and for you the responsibility for your deeds. There is no contention between us. God has brought us together and towards Him is our final goal. (42:14)

The Muslim League, if it wants to give political leadership to the Muslims, should adopt this path:

“God Almighty's instruction is to follow the *Sirat-al-Mus-taqueem* (Straight Path).”

# **Crusade for Independence**

*Al Jehad fi Sabil al Hurriyat*

*Al-Hilal*

**“ Do not be afraid of anyone, except God,  
if you are a momin.” Quran 17:13**

# **Crusade for Independence\***

## **The History that shall be written of Indian freedom**

Whatever crisis has to occur will occur, regardless of the evil designs of an inauspicious group. It is certain that a day will come when a political revolution will have swept India. The fetters of subjugation, which she has put on her feet, will be severed by the scimitars of the 20th century freedom winds, and all that has to be done will be done. Suppose at that time a history of India is written, do you know what it will record about seven crore people of India?

It will record that there was an unfortunate and ill-fated community which always hindered the country's progress, and proved an everlasting impediment to its advancement. They were an obstacle in its path of freedom, a toy in the hands of covetous rulers, a puppet for the aliens, and a deep wound on India's brow. They were an instrument in the hands of the government with which it crushed the hopes and aspirations of the country.

History shall record that they were a pitiable and bewitched people, who became metamorphosed into animals by magical incantations of some old high priests. They were led by the nose by their master, who made them dance to their tunes. These creatures rejoiced in their slavery, displayed no human will, mind, emotion, in short, not the slightest evidence of having any human qualities. They neither used their brains nor raised their voices. They were unable to walk on their own legs or lift their hands; dazed creatures whose consciousness depended on the will of the hypnotist. Theirs was a inert existence, like a tree which depends on the wind for making the slightest movement, a boulder which can stir only when pushed by a living hand; they were a burden on the earth's bosom. Alas! they were a stain of misfortune on the brow of humanity.

## **A painful scene of the degradation of Islam**

It will be written that such was the pitiable condition of those people who

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\* This article appeared in Vol.1 no.23 of *Al-Hilal*., dated 18 December, 1912. A photograph on the adjacent page shows the Pope honouring the Emperor of Bulgaria for his victory in the Crusades. Below, it is the photograph of a machine-gun with which the Turks blew up the front ranks of the Bulgarian army. The relationship of these two photographs to each other, and to this article is evident.

were called Muslims, who had been chosen to receive the heritage of the world, to be the representatives of God on earth, and who were the custodians of the history of human dignity and grandeur.

They were sent to this world to liberate God's creatures from tyranny and bondage. They were sent to break the chains of slavery, not to put them on their own feet! They had come to destroy the fetters with which the Satanic forces (and in Islamic terminology any supremacy, other than God's, is Satanic) had bound human beings, and not to put them around their own necks. The only exception to this was the chain of divine worship. They were designated God's representatives so that they could rule over others, not so that they should become complacent about their own slavery. They were sent here so that they could lift up others who fell at their feet, not so that they could grovel in the dust of degradation and slavery, and be kicked around. They were the followers of a faith which was revealed to mankind so that it could rule over others, not so that it should be ruled by them.

Alas! Who were these *Muslims*? Is there any quality of human excellence which is not included in this most endearing and sacred word uttered by God? They were Muslims and, therefore, it was their duty to do in India all of that which ultimately the others did. They were Muslims, therefore, the flag of India's Independence and progress should have been in their hands. All other communities should have followed in their footsteps: because they had Islam, and Islam means to lead and not to follow. The power of Islam is such that others, by acknowledging its greatness, attain physical and spiritual salvation. Islam does not bow before any world force.

The mind is for thinking, not for slumbering. You who regard sleep as wakefulness, and death as life, tell me, for God's sake, if not this, what will be written about you in the years to come? Believe me at the time of writing these lines my heart is pained, my soul is restless. The wounds on my heart are bleeding afresh, and my pen fails to capture my agitation. What is it that I see? All of you have eyes too, but can't you see? What is that voice that I hear? You have ears but can't you hear? Ah! my people what shall I say to you? For the sake of God tell me if you do not believe that you follow the true faith, that you have been honoured with the name of Islam, and that you have been endowed with God's trust. If you believe in this, then you should know that you have been created to be fearless, bold, independent, and self-governing. You have been created not only to be free yourself, but to free others from the bonds of slavery. I go a little further and assert that you have been created so that you may lay down your life for the sake of truth. Why is it that I see all these qualities in others, but Oh! unfortunate people, not in you? What a strange and astonishing phenomenon!



## **A particular chapter of Indian history**

If you believe that Indian history will have a glorious chapter about you, let me predict its contents and read it to you. No doubt there will be a chapter. But do you know what it will say? It will say that when India moved forward on the path of progress and independence, Hindus paved the way with their lives. But when the bugle was blown on the battlefield, the Muslims hid themselves in the caves. Hindus called out to them, but they sealed their lips. When the country was smarting under unjust laws, it were the Hindus who launched a crusade, and the brave Muslims not only refrained from jumping into the foray, but let out demented shrieks that all those struggling against injustice were no better than ordinary rebels.

## **The story of Indian repression**

This country had an agricultural economy. Its peasant class was being ruined, its resources were being siphoned off into England, and, soon, the economy was destroyed by the increasing demands for raw goods. Contracts for the extension of railways were granted to English companies so that they could gobble up additional wealth. No money was made available for irrigation to enhance the agricultural output of the country. Lip service was paid to our loyalty, but we were not allowed to touch the arms because we were regarded with the utmost suspicion. While all the wealth of the country was being squandered away on feeding seventy thousand red-neck soldiers with the choicest foods, the starving blacks were deprived of educational and health care facilities. Even salt was taxed; education could only be had at the cost of property and home. When she became the monarch, Queen Victoria lovingly promised that there would be no question of distinction between the ruler and the ruled, and that the path which was open to one, would be open to all. But when we took her at her word and got moving, we found all doors shut in our faces. Every Englishman became concerned about the distinction between the ruler and the ruled.

These were the conditions in which the country was placed. The Hindus rose in revolt and dedicated all their energies to a crusade against oppression. But precisely at the same time, the Muslims not only fractured their own hands and feet but also wanted to cripple anyone who was possessed of sound limbs. At the time when Hindus were lighting the flames of the country's Independence, the Muslims were contentedly sitting around the corpse of education. Someone had uttered the magic words, "Time has not come," and they were completely taken in. A genie of Arabian nights had, with his magic incantations, turned them into immobile masses of rock. They were a hindrance in the path of the country's progress.

## **The Muslims' record of nationalism**

The future historian, who will record the chronology of events, will write that, ultimately whatever had to happen, happened. In the 20th century no country could remain in bondage, and none remained. The British government was a constitutional entity. It was not the autocratic rule of Chengiz Khan. Therefore, it did what was expected of it, and India became Independent. But the world will remember that this turn of events owed nothing to the Muslims; whatever happened rebounded to the credit of every other community except the Muslims. Muslims always preferred slavery to freedom, grovelling in the dust to dignity and honour. The political independence of India is, indeed, a memorial to human dignity. But Muslims have no share in building the memorial. If amendments were made in the country's laws, if beneficial laws were introduced, if people got rid of ruinous taxation, if compulsory education was introduced, military expenses reduced, and, lastly, if the country became self-governing, it was due only to the Hindus, respectable Hindus, Hindus who set an example for the Muslims by starting the political agitation and continuing it.

As for the Muslims, they regarded it as a sin and remained aloof from it. And when they tried to start something, Satan exhorted them to prostrate themselves before the government, and, with tear-filled eyes beg alms from it. Beg not for a guinea or jewels, but for a rusty copper coin or a rotten crust of bread.

## **The Muslim League**

After a long time the shackles were broken. That which had been called heresy was declared a virtue. But how? Was it the result of their efforts, their decision-making, their consciousness, their awareness, or their spiritual guidance? On the contrary, it was the result of the strategy devised by the others. Those under whose command they had taken refuge in the caves, now ordered them to come out and prostrate themselves. The last act of this drama was staged after the Simla deputation and was given the name of "League".

If you build a house of snow, and call it the house of flames, will it transform the ice to fire? If you push a button to make the toy clap its hands, will it become a human child? Ignorant people! Why don't you speak? Answer me. Perhaps no one in the world has disgraced politics as you have been doing for the last six years; you who worship silver and gold! Your existence is a disgrace for politics and your actions a stigma on the fair name of India. You turned slavery into a house of icons and called it the mosque of politics. You bowed your head in deference to arrogant pride and deceived people by informing them that you were being elevated to the status of dignity. You were continually bogged down, but you pretended that you were running in open fields. You were misguided yourself, and, in turn you misguided others.

The question is not of the roof but of the bricks used in the foundation. It is futile to describe the condition of the wall; you must discover the flaw in its foundation. Politics is fire that flares up of its own accord and is then stirred into flames. It is not a glass of iced water offered by some gold-liveried cup-bearer. The first mistake was made when, after many years of death-like inertness, you began to stir. But it was not done at your own initiative, enthusiasm or willingness. It was done at the bidding and the behest of others. The result was that politics became another form of slavery, and a gimmick to divert people from the right path. All effort was directed at getting concessions from the government. The strength that should have been pitted against the government, was used against the Hindus. This proved to be the anti-climax. A nation should feel that it is standing on its own feet, not buttressed by others. The fact about concessions is that they depend not on one's own strength but on the favours shown by others. While they should not ignore their legitimate rights, the real efforts of the Muslims should be concentrated on strengthening their base.

### **Sacrifices of Muslims for the enslavement of the country**

The Hindu-Muslim issue is an acrobatic feat in which, unfortunately, those who are expected to perform are rarely found in the arena. Dissensions in our army are a source of satisfaction for our enemy. The insinuation that, "You have not yet made progress in education, and, therefore, your politics should consist of getting back your rights from the Hindus," is a cunning move of our vicious antagonist. Earlier, too, I had drawn your attention towards it. It was natural that the British government should need a sacrificial lamb to stabilise its gains in India. The ideal "offering" presented itself before them in the form of a community which had dissociated itself from the rest of the country, and was prepared to join forces with them. This community irrigated the plant of British imperialism with the blood of its hopes and aspirations. By placing themselves on the sacrificial slab, the Muslims took upon themselves the burden which all the other communities of India had declined to bear.

If the leaders had not cast a spell on the Muslims and placed blinkers over their eyes, they would have shed tears of remorse and regret at this sad spectacle. They would have realised that the problem of the country's progress and prosperity has entirely become a "Hindu problem" and Muslims, as a community, have nothing to do with it. Whether debated at the House of Commons or at a Congress forum, the "Indian problem" remained a "Hindu problem". Still it is important to remember that although the country has placed the responsibility of its progress and independence on the Hindus, this very responsibility was once bestowed on you (you who have forgotten your destiny), by God Almighty. Islam's natural mission is to crusade for truth and to liberate man from the

bondage of his fellow creatures. God wanted to place you in the front ranks. But alas! First you forgot Him and then your own selves, with the result that now there is no place for you, even in the last row.

I will ask you to be patient, but you need not hold your tongue, because the time for reproach is now. We have anxiously waited for this day. Mere presence of desire will not produce the goal. You may provide brick and lime; still without builders, the house cannot be constructed. These new overtures of the League are, indeed, very alluring. But they are not attractive enough to make one fall in love all over again! There is, however, an imminent danger that the ones with a high libido may succumb to its enticement.

There is no doubt that the reform of the system and a search for an ideal is the only remedy for this malaise. But the search itself cannot identify the disease and provide the correct prescription. It is necessary that the diagnosis should be correct and the prescription should suggest the real treatment of the disease. If the League agrees to the above, so far so good.

## **Agreement**

To tell you the truth the League was, and still is, disappointing, unless it proves itself otherwise. People have realised fully that not only in important political affairs, but in ordinary dealings the League is of no use; as a matter of fact it is very harmful for the bright future of the country.

At a time, therefore, when we are discarding the League and searching for a new path and a new pivot, the League has, once again, beseeched us to forget the past incidents. If the League wants to win our love, it is better that we enter into an agreement. This agreement will be a legal contract with no ambiguities or perplexities. Let the League forget its past, and, provided, it wants association with us, it must dissociate itself from others. In that case we will also give up the company of others and form an exclusive association with it. But it should be clear that this is our last agreement. If, ever again, we find it associating with others, this agreement will be null and void.

We want to make it very clear who we mean by "others". Let us tell the League that it is not timely for us to make exacting demands on you. We are not against your associating with the government. The Congress' example is before you and now the government is itself encouraging the hopes. But association with the government should mean occasional contact, without compromising your dignity.

## **Terms of accord, ideal**

In a political struggle the quest for an ideal is of primary importance. If you want to live, you must keep some high ideal before you, so that it may continue to be a source of inspiration. It has often been stated that no nation can offer to a struggle its whole-hearted zeal, wisdom and

vigour, unless it sets an all-demanding ideal before itself. In a word, then, freedom is one ideal, the very thought of which quickens the heartbeat and inspires us to action.

The League has set out in quest of an ideal. It should not be allowed to go astray. There are no two thoughts about the political ideal for India. Our thoughts on this subject are different from the common trend. We want to come in from a different direction and move towards the same objective. But to expect the same dedication from the League is futile. It should simply announce one ideal, "Under British protectorate self-government for India".

**“Narkh bala kun ke arzani hunuz”\***

**“Ask for a higher price, because the bid is still low”**

Remember that the ideal we have suggested for the League is not a very lofty one. Our own resolution demands a higher rung on the ladder. Still it is better to make self-government your political ideal and start your journey this very day. With this laudable objective in view you will forget the rigours of the struggle that you are engaged in.

We have, again and again, pointed out the complications that have been created in this matter during the last thirty years. Now we believe that the Muslims have forgotten several unpleasant things; their fears and misgivings about the Hindu majority, the impact of the past history of Hindus and Muslims, and the alien government being the better choice for them. We are not demanding self-government at this moment so that the question whether or not the country is capable of managing its own affairs may, once again, be raked up. The objective is to keep it as an ideal before us and to gradually strive to attain it. For heaven's sake get rid of the fear of the Hindu majority. This was a Satanic suspicion created in the minds of the Muslims. Power is not only a numbers game, it depends on something else also. The important factor is the real strength of a nation which is the result of its moral values and character, its unity, and, to use the Islamic terminology, the will of God and good deeds. All these suspicions were created in our minds because no joint and lofty ideal was placed before the country. If from the very beginning all the people had set their sights on one goal, one ideal, there would have been no reason to look in different directions, and all those forces, which, today are shedding each others' blood, would have been united in its quest.

Gentlemen, lend me your ears, because I am raising an important point. Your aimless wandering, selfishness, self-seeking, dissensions and indifference to self-sacrifice and self-denial, all this is result of the fact that your eyes have nothing beautiful to look at. The breath-taking beauty that we have discovered is unknown to you.

If ever the dazzling vision of freedom comes within the range of your

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\* Amir Khusro



vision, everything else will fade into oblivion. Once beauty floats into the orbit of your vision, try as you may, you will not be able to tear your eyes away from it.

### **Hardships of the journey**

Many people have come so far as to agree with us that Muslims should choose the same ideal for themselves; but they are afraid of the hardships of the journey. Oh, my forgetful brothers! Your apprehensions are beyond comprehension! This is a political slaughter house, a scaffold for martyrs. This is not your playground of thirty years. If you are afraid of hardships, find a bed of roses. Who asked you to step in this valley of thorns? If you venture to step inside, you will be stung by nettles at every inch of the way, and every moment you will face trials. You are worried about hardships, while we are playing the death roulette. This is no place for the covetous. In this field of combat, the brave are those who keep their heads not upon their shoulders, but on the palms of their hands.

Politics is not instant magic: you draft a resolution, move a vote of thanks, retire to your pleasure houses, and wait for your desired objective to descend from heaven and stand before you. No one has asked you to jump into this foray, but if you do, search your heart well, whether or not you have the grit to play this game until the end.

### **Personification of slavery and assertion of the spirit of politics**

When people are reminded of your political past, they don't know whether to laugh or to cry. Your buffoonery in politics is unmatched by the vices of any nation. Every little vermin reeking of sycophancy, slavery and selfishness, comes forward and claims that he is the chosen messiah and political reformer. Those milk-livered creatures, strangers to risk-taking, who can't endure even the slightest coldness from the government, claim that they are boxers in the political ring, and have entered the bout to display their fighting skills. Those who know better, laugh and cry at the subversion of the cherished values of mankind.

Oh, God! That precious item for which only mutilated bodies and chopped heads are an adequate price, is going so cheap in the caravan of the League, that even those who have just a few counterfeit coins in their hands, are making their bid.

O ignorant people! Remember, if you want to live you must not be shy of setbacks. Only those who are living suffer reversals; the dead are immune from it all. If you desire peace, the best place for you is the grave. If you keep a sedentary posture, naturally, you will never fall. But if you walk, there is every chance that you may stumble and graze your knees.



## **Reform and change in system**

The Muslims made the mistake of selecting their leaders from among the elite. These people are trussed in a thousand chains, and, invariably, impose the same type of bondage on their followers. The only two attributes they have are wealth and class, nothing else. Your fault, in fact, is greater than theirs. When you dragged them out they were forced to come, notwithstanding the fact that their circumstances stood in their way. Had we been in their position, we may have behaved in a similar manner. It is essential that the League make a resolution to take politics away from the grip of wealth and entrust it to the brains.

## **Remaining term of incarceration**

Time has come when instead of a select few, the League should be handed to the people. The elite would be requested, in all humility, not to meddle with our concerns and leave us to our fate. We should properly apologise for our past mistakes. With folded hands we should say, "Forgive us; we pulled your carriages, garlanded you, turned ourselves into beasts and gave the reins in your hands. For all that we did we deserved to be punished, and punished we were. Now if a few years of the term remain, please allow us remission in view of our good conduct and the rules of government. Take pity. Remove our shackles." Unless this problem is solved, merely altering the rules and regulations of the League is not going to help.

## **Jehad: Crusade for Independence**

The article has become lengthy, but we could not restrain the flow of our thoughts. Many points are still to be made, but I leave to you to surmise whatever remains unexpressed, and ask your permission to say a few other things.

You have spent many nights of stupor and intoxication. Now for God's sake stir yourselves and look how far the sun has travelled on the horizon. Where have your companions reached and how far behind them are you still lingering? Do not forget what you are; Islam is making its demands on you. How long will your misdeeds pile shame on this Divine faith? How long will you allow the world to laugh at you and not shed a single tear over your dismal state? How long will the niche of Islam in India remain a gaping hole, drained of all its energy? If you must be whipped in order to regain sanity, are there any lashes of calamities and misfortunes which you have not received?

Remember, that for the Hindus the struggle for the country's Independence is a part of their patriotism. But for you it is a religious duty and a part of the crusade for Allah. He has designated you *Mujahids* or Crusaders; the scope of Jihad or Crusade includes every effort made for truth

and justice. Jihad means to break the shackles of human oppression and bondage. Those who are, today, engaged in the struggle for country's independence are launching a crusade which you should have initiated. Awake, because now Allah wants you to rise. It is His will that Muslims, wherever they are, should re-dedicate themselves to the duty of this Jihad. So far you have done nothing in India, though Allah wants you to make your best effort and, here too, accomplish all that you are expected to accomplish in other parts of the world.



# **Islam and Nationalism**

*Islam aur Nationalism*

*Al-Hilal*

**"The call of Islam was a call to 'humanism' and 'human brotherhood' hence its bias against all prejudices that resulted from racial and national distinctions."**

## Islam and Nationalism\*

In 1920, the flux of successive events had left little room for unbridled indulgence in the intricate exercises of the intellect and the imagination. Mahatma Gandhi saw the Khilafat issue as a simple and practical proposition, and took up the cause. He did not think it necessary to probe the issue deeper, since the fact of the matter was that the demands of the Muslims were not against justice and propriety; and if they had the support of the Hindus it would strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two communities. At this stage of its political life, the country needed no more inquisition. He immediately took up the cause, and before the “if’s” and “but’s” began, he had started the campaign. Consequently, within months, a popular movement started to flourish. The Khilafat demands became the common demands of the Hindus and Muslims. Hundreds of thousands of Hindus expressed, along with the Muslims, a deep and selfless interest; and it may be said that in certain cases they even surpassed the Muslims.

But when the period of practical activity came to a close, a reaction started against it. The very movement which, a few days earlier, was most popular in the country, now created doubts in the hearts of many people and became a debatable proposition. At the time when thousands of people were going to jail to get a fair deal for Turkey, no one bothered whether or not the vehemence in this demand was in keeping with Indian nationalism. But today, every one is worried about this question, and, again and again, doubt is being expressed.

On the one hand there are the people who are critical and have started a controversy on this issue, on the other are those Muslim firebrand writers who, lacking a clear perception of reality, are taking recourse in exaggerated accounts. Some of them have read discussions in previous issues of *Al-Hilal*, which postulate that the large-heartedness preached by Islam is not in consonance with the narrow mindedness of patriotism. Since these

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\* This is a selection from *Islam aur Nationalism*, published in the second phase of *Al-Hilal* (*Al-Hilal “Sani”*) which ran from June - December 1927. The paper was edited by Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, although Maulana contributed some excellent articles such as the one given above.

people are not aware of the context in which those columns were written, they take them to mean that Islam is against “nationalism” and that no Muslim should become a “nationalist”. There are some people who complain of the political insensitivity of Indian Muslims. When they notice that the Muslims do not take as much interest in the political problems of their own country as they do in pan-Islamic problems, they naturally feel that is due to their preoccupation with wide-ranging matters. They feel it is time to get rid of them.

The large-heartedness of Islam neither negates nationalism, nor is it necessary for nationalism to limit Islamic perception. Both these points are unduly exaggerated. Reality lies not on either extreme, but in between the two. What is this middle course?

The purpose of this article is to search for the “middle course”. Because it is a multi-dimensional problem, it is, therefore, necessary to divide it into separate parts.

### **Social life and its evolution**

What is Nationalism? It is the concept for a special state of man’s collective consciousness and a notion of social order. It distinguishes one group of people from another and makes it possible for a large number of them to come together to lead their lives and undertake their collective responsibilities. It is better, then, to examine the human predicament with regard to man’s social relations and beliefs, before we look at the teachings of Islam in this respect.

Man develops a natural affinity for the place where he lives for a period of time. His fondness for it is for more than one reason. First, the physical conditions of the place coordinate the course of his life in a manner that each of its seasons and attributes correlates with some aspect of his life, and it develops an attractiveness for him. Secondly, the continuity and consistency of experience, by itself, has an influence on his animal consciousness. It naturally becomes more familiar with the things it comes in regular contact with. Thirdly, with the place of habitation all the affiliations of race and kinship also merge. Man has his kith and kin at the place where he is born and brought up, and its every nook and corner becomes associated with their affections and memory. Therefore, after racial affiliation, man feels a kinship with his place of nativity, and, gradually, its hold becomes firmer. Eventually, it becomes the centre of his love, and pivot of his temporal aspirations.

“Patriotism” is a maturing of one’s allegiance to the “city-state”. As civilization progresses and expands, habitations and towns grow in numbers, man’s contacts become more extensive and the concept of city-state also starts to widen. Now, instead of his place of birth and habitat, man starts to regard the entire area (in a corner of which he lives) as his native land. Gradually the scope widens further, and, in place of small

patches, bigger tracts of land come into this fold, so much so that the concept of patriotism, now, encompasses an entire country.

The collective consciousness of race had unified the masses into a unit of race. Next, the consciousness of place and habitat created a unit more common and extensive than race. It includes different tribes and races and unifies them. 'Nationalism' follows 'Patriotism' as the next stage of social consciousness. It connotes a wider scope of human relations, and encompassing all the earlier orbits, creates a higher order of unity. This orbit of social consciousness is wider than all the past orbits, and brings within its ambit larger and larger numbers of people.

The chain of relative extensions ends with the continental division. The final stage, where this process of evolution reaches maturity and completion, is the stage of 'Humanism' and 'Universalism'. At this stage man realises that the boundaries and relative affiliations of human associations and areas that he had created were not actual and natural. True relationship is only one, the entire earth is man's native land, mankind one family, and all human beings are brothers. At this stage the voyage of man's collective affiliations terminates, and, in place of unity of race, unity of place, and unity of nationality, the only and perfect unity, the unity of the human race, created by God Almighty, manifests itself. To begin with, the piece of land where he was born meant everything to him. After birth, the four walls of the home became his universe. He looked at other creatures, and, before long, recognized the different species and the nature of each one of them. He looked at the sky, and, after thousands of years, realized that the sun has a social system and the earth is one of its members.

### **Islam and the chauvinism of patriotism and nationhood**

After a review of these premises, we should now look at the direction in which Islam wanted to lead the world. What was that destination and what was that goal? That destination was 'humanism', and the goal was perfection in this evolutionary process. In the sixth century, when Islam was born, the world had not crossed the stage of 'tribe' and 'patriotism'. When Islam was born, the Arab population was a conglomeration of tribes. Each tribe was confined within the ambit of its racial nationalism and refused to accept a wider domain. The ruinous passions of pride and boast, of contempt and disdain for mankind, of conquest and domination over one another, were deeply and strongly entrenched in their minds; a parallel condition is hard to find in the history of any other nation. The individual members recognized no greatness or dignity in the world outside, which could supercede their respective tribes. Hundreds and thousands of lives were sacrificed, within moments, so that the prestige and pride of the tribe remained unblemished. All this is so well known and well established that no details need be given. The



powerful poetry of Hamasa, even today, fills one's hearts with strong sentiments of pride in our race and genealogy. No other poetry in the world can compare in the expression of those sentiments with the poetry of the *Arab Jahiliyata* (pre-Islamic period).

Belief in the enclosures of family, tribe, race, place, and its bigotry is conveyed in Arabic by a word which can be translated as chauvinism. Chauvinism was based, first on Arabism, i.e. the superiority of the Arabs over non-Arabs and, then, among the Arabs themselves, each tribe was steeped in the pride of its own racial superiority.

The inhabited world outside the Arab lands, too, was not aware of a concept broader than that of 'race' and 'country'. Roman civilization provided the basis of Roman nationalism, but that, too, was based on race and place of birth. Once when a Roman was arrested by the ruler of Sicily and was ordered to be flogged, with every stroke he cried, "I am a Roman!" Cicero, the celebrated Roman orator, in his lecture against that ruler said: "A Roman is laid in the centre of the forum and flogged. He does not cry with pain and complain of torture; he only repeats: 'I am a Roman.' O Assembly of Legislators! The victim was convinced that he could save himself from all suffering and humiliation by declaring that he was a Roman. Because, not long ago, being Roman was a sure guarantee of protection and prestige for a person." This is regarded as the most felicitous of Cicero's legal lectures. Cicero emphasized the fact of being a Roman. He did not say, he was a man. His concern was Romanism, not humanism.

But Islam did not stop at these junctures. It denied all these affiliations and their bases, created, as it were, by the limitations of human knowledge and perceptions. It did not recognise the artificial affiliations of race, country, nation, colour and language. It called man to the one and only relationship, of humanism and the natural bonds of brotherhood.

For mankind, scattered all over the world, it was necessary to divide themselves into different areas and groups. When so divided, it was inevitable that there be some means of introduction to make one group distinct from another. All these units were simply means of introduction; he is an African, he is an Arab, he is an Aryan, he is Mongolian. This way the groups were recognised. But there were no distinctions in this classification, nor was it a real division. There was only one real distinction; the distinction made by one's deeds and endeavours. The truth of the matter is that the entire human race stands on the same footing and at the same rank. Providence does not bestow superiority on any individual, save the one who proves himself worthy of distinction and, superiority by virtue of his own deeds and efforts,

*Jo barh kar khud utha le hath mein, meena usika hai.*

One who picks it by extending his hand, the goblet is his.

The whole of mankind belongs to one race, one family, one kinship. If, in fact, there is no difference of race for all race is one race, nor is there a difference of place, for we all inhabit the same earth, why is one group separated from the other? Why do members of one family and kinship live with one another like aliens?

The basic postulates of Islam in this regard are so well known that they need no reiteration. My intention is to refer to all those Quranic postulates which declare the unity of mankind, and to those verses which reveal that the origin of all human beings is one; differences are the result of turning away from the path of righteousness, and from divine nature.

The importance of unity and brotherhood in Islam is proven by the fact that during each of his five daily prayers, the Prophet said: "God, our Lord and the Lord of the Universe; I confess that only you are the Lord of the Universe and no one but you. God, our Lord and the Lord of the Universe; I confess that Mohammad (Peace be upon him) is no more than your slave and your messenger. God, our Lord and the Lord of the Universe; I confess that all your people are brothers, and, whatever differences they may have created among themselves, you have created them as one human race."

There were four great obstacles in the way of universal human brotherhood; race, country, colour and language. Different orbits were formed on the basis of these, and humanity was divided into innumerable smaller units. Islam, not only denies all four, it makes a clear and categorical declaration against them, leaving no room for doubts and vacillations. About 'race', it clearly states that all belong to the same race. About 'country', it says, whether an Arabi (Arab) or an Ajmi (Persian), all inhabit the same God-created land. About 'language' and 'colour' it proclaims that they are the signs of God's wisdom and power. The climate of one place begets one colour, that of another, a different one. Different languages are spoken in different places. These dissimilarities, however, are not the basis of distinctions and differences among mankind.

Besides, Islam evolved a system of conduct, which cannot coexist with distinctions of race and nation. Daily rules of conduct and prayers include items which are a practical demonstration of unity and equity. *Namaz* (daily prayers), *Zakath* (obligatory payment of a portion of the income to the poor and indigent), *Roza* (fasting), *Haj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), the same spirit works behind them all. It is a total system, directed towards the practice and implementation of human brotherhood. It compels its followers to confess the fact, submit before it, and become the living image of their faith and belief. The call of Islam was a call to 'humanism' and 'human brotherhood'; hence its bias against all prejudices that resulted from racial and national distinction. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the chauvinism of race and nation so that it becomes clear what the spirit of Islam is opposed to.

There are two aspects of chauvinism; one, the protection of race and nation, and the other, the prejudices of race and nation. The spirit of Islam is opposed to prejudice but not to protection. But the problem is that when such an orbit is formed, though it originates with the spirit of protection, later it turns into prejudice. To begin with, a group of people create the orbits of patriotism and nationalism in order to protect themselves from external invasion. This is 'defensive nationalism'. Its continuance over a period of time, however, gives birth to feelings of national superiority and patriotic pride, in place of national defence. 'Defensive nationalism' suddenly turns into 'jingoism'. Not content with its own protection, nationalism wants to attack others. Moreover, the heady wine of racial and national superiority evokes a sense of distinction from others and breeds contempt and disdain for them. As a result, violence erupts between different nations, and better human sense becomes dormant.

The only remedy for this situation was to restrict the creation of narrow orbits. Whenever a narrow orbit comes into existence, it means that the broad human circle has been sliced. In place of broader vision and sensibilities there is a narrow outlook and perspective. Islam, therefore, discourages the emergence of narrow orbits.

Nationalism, in its simplest form, has existed for ages. But the collective beliefs and ideas that the term brings to mind are the product of the new era of European civilization. It started as a defence for human rights and liberty, but has, today, become its greatest threat.

With the passing of the middle ages, Europe took a new turn. A new culture developed, and, with it, a new social system. On the one hand the spirit of knowledge and liberty was spreading all over Europe, and, on the other, the despotism of individual monarch and tyranny of foreign domination stood firm in its old glory. Consequently, a new conflict arose: the crown and sceptre and its unfettered claims, versus the new principles and aspirations resulting from liberty and knowledge. When people's spirit of liberty revolted against the crown and sceptre, a powerful and effective new terminology was coined. The word had always existed but now people discovered its magical connotation; the word was '*nation*' and the discovery was '*being a nation*'. It was the revelation of '*nationhood*'. The claim of the crown, to quote Louis XIV, was: "I am the right, I am the might." But people were not prepared to submit to it any longer. Naturally, the question arose: if royal lineage and inheritance of the crown and sceptre were not the legitimate sources of right and power, then what is the force to which kings also must submit? The forthright answer, *the nation*. The nation became the solitary source of all rights and powers, only the nation had the right rule over itself.

These were the virtues of nationalism; but we must review its obverse side as well.

1. All that had occurred so far, was confined to Europe and to the

Europeans. Outside the boundaries of Europe, nothing worked, neither the declaration of human liberty, nor the rights of a nation. It seems that Europe, in accordance with the old Roman tenets, decided that the world was divided into superior and inferior nations. All the principles of liberty and rights were meant for the superior, and not the inferior nations. Europe and America comprised the superior half, and the rest the inferior half of the world. Therefore, they (inferiors) had no right to demand human liberty and national rights which were the privileges of the superiors.

2. At the time when France was preparing herself for the third freedom revolution, no Frenchman felt that Ameer Abdul Qadir Jazairi and his unfortunate people who were subjugated by France through its military might also needed freedom. Today the world knows what is being done in Syria by France who claims to be the preacher of 'freedom' and 'nationalism'. England claims that she is the defender of small nations, guardian of freedom and liberty, and the refuge of patriots. But all this under what circumstances and for whom? Certainly, it provided refuge to Russian immigrants, and opened its doors for those expelled from France. For the freedom of Greece, it produced its national poet Byron, and provided shelter to Mazzini of Italy, Europe's many revolutionary plans were made in the lanes and by-lanes of London. But what are the decisions this "freedom loving nationalism" made for the East and Asia? It continued to provide succour to the oppressed Russians and Austrians, but has made no effort to extend help to those who were brutally oppressed by its very own hand. No answer need be given because today the sad state of affairs in the East and in Asia is evident.

The above situation had an inevitable reaction. Before the 19th century had made much headway, its signs became visible. The lower echelons of society began to realise that, despite talk, real liberty and equality was non-existent. The present organisation of nations which was established on the basis of equality and liberty had itself become a hindrance. Before the advent of modern times, despotism and unequal distribution were confined to a few hands and a few families; now they were extended to bigger groups. Consequently, the forces against equity and justice were no longer concentrated and centralized as before. Yet, so far as human liberty and equality are concerned, mankind is as far away from them as it was before.

The forces of capitalism, more than ever, have come to acquire the controls. The domination over people that royal lineage and aristocratic tradition had held for centuries has now been acquired by the capitalist through money power and the arbitration of world peace. The destinies of countries and nations thus passed into his hands.

The seeds of 19th century 'socialism' were sown as a reaction to this. It has now developed into 'communism', which wants not only to change Europe's organisation of nations but to revolutionize the whole structure of society. The world war was the greatest defeat of this type of nationalism, when the world regained its senses, having waded through blood and fire for five years, zest for life and peace started anew. All those whose minds were not bogged down by the interests of national government, realised that the present order could not satisfy the world for long. A large section of philosophers and thinkers of Europe emerged, who were disgusted with nationalist chauvinism, and were looking forward to the broad canvas of humanism. Varied and new ideas and schemes began to shape their thinking. "Reorganisation of the world social order", and "unfettered human brotherhood", became the most significant and interesting areas of thought.

If one takes an overall view of the trends of world thought, one clearly finds that one epoch is terminating and another is about to begin. The future historian may discover the signs of a transitory phase in the time that we are passing through. It is difficult to say what promise the future holds? But one thing is certain. The world will move towards a broader sphere than the present circle within which it is confined. Will that be towards 'humanism' and 'human brotherhood'? Has the world reached the goal towards which, some thirteen hundred years ago, Islam wanted to lead it but could not? Only time will tell. For the present, we need not look for an answer. We have to decide what to do under the given circumstances? So far as 'nation' and 'nationalism' are concerned, what should our course of action be? It is essential that in order to establish peace and reform 'nationalism', not only the Islamic community, but the entire world may have to act according to the point of view stated in Islam.



## **PART II**

**The Peak Years : 1916 - 1947**  
**Religion, Politics and Literature**





# ***Quol - e- Faisal***

## **The Final Verdict**

**“Islam does not permit that Muslims should live after having surrendered their freedom. They should either remain free or perish. There is no third path in Islam.”**

## *Quol - e - Faisal\**

I had no intention of submitting any oral or written statement. This is a place where there is neither any hope nor expectation for us, nor any grievance. This is only a turnpike, without passing which we cannot reach our destination. For a short while, therefore, even against our own will, we have to break our journey here. Otherwise we would have gone straight to prison.

This is the only reason why for the last two years, I have always opposed the idea of non-cooperators taking any part in the proceedings of the court, although the All India Congress Committee, the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind have given permission for written statements to be submitted for the information of the public. But, personally, I have always advised people to remain silent. I feel that a person who submits a statement because he is not guilty, even though he does it with a view to educating the public, is, nevertheless, not altogether free from suspicion. Perhaps a feeble desire for acquittal or some unconscious weakness is working within him. The path of non-cooperation, however, is clear and straight and admits no compromise in that respect.

Non-cooperation is the result of utter disappointment with the existing conditions. And this despondency has led to a determination for affecting complete change. Non-cooperation on the part of any man reveals his disbelief in the sense of justice of the regime, and that is why he desires change. Now, if he is disappointed to such a degree that he sees no alternative except a change, how can he expect to receive any justice from that power?

To expect acquittal under the present circumstances is no more than a vain desire. With the exception of the Government itself, no sensible man can expect justice while the law courts are in their present state; not because

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\* On 21 December, 1921, Maulana Azad was arrested in Calcutta. He did not take part in the proceedings of the case, but on 24 January, 1922 he submitted a written statement called *Quol-e-Faisal*. On 9 February he was sentenced to one year with hard labour and sent to the Alipur Jail. Before leaving he told the Magistrate with a smile, "The sentence is too light and much below my expectations." The above is a selection from his statement to the Calcutta Court.

they are run by individuals who do not like to administer justice, but because they are based on a system under which no Magistrate can give justice to those persons with whom the Government itself does not wish to deal fairly! I want to make it clear that Non-cooperation is directed only against Government, the present set-up, and principles of Government, and never against individuals.

History bears witness that whenever the ruling powers took up arms against freedom and right, the court-rooms were used as the most convenient and plausible weapons. The authority of the courts is a force which can be used, both for justice and injustice. In the hands of a just government, it is the best means for the attainment of rights, but for a repressive and tyrannical government, there is no other weapon better fitted for vengeance and injustice. Next to battlefields, it is in the courts that some of the greatest acts of injustice in world history have taken place. From the holy founders of religions to the inventors and pioneers of science, there is no truthful or righteous deed which was not presented to the courts like a crime.

The list of the inequities of the courts of law is a long one, and history has not yet finished singing the elegy of such miscarriage of justice. In that list we come across a man of God like Jesus, who had to stand before a strange court with the worst of criminals. We see, also on the same list, Socrates, who was sentenced to be poisoned for no crime other than that of being the most truthful person in the realm. We also find the name of the great Florentine martyr to truth, the inventor Galileo, who refused to belie his observations and researches merely because their avowal was a crime in the eyes of the courts of the day. So, what a wonderful place is the convict's dock where the most righteous as well as the most criminal of men are made to stand! When I recall the great and meaningful history of the convict's dock and find that the honour of standing in that place belongs to me today, my soul bows in thankfulness to, and in praise of God. He alone knows the real joy and happiness of my mind. In this dock of the convicts I feel I am the envy of emperors.

It was never my intention to present a statement; but on the 6th of January when I was produced before the Court I found that the Government was frantically searching for a cause for my punishment; although if they were to accord to my wishes, I wanted to be given the maximum punishment. First, I was prosecuted under section 17 of the *Criminal Amendment Act*; but when such proof could not be produced as is considered absolutely necessary for proving the crime, the case under this section was withdrawn. Section 124A was then set up against me but, unfortunately, that too was not enough. This judicial impasse made me change my mind. I felt that the very reason for my withholding any written statement demanded that I should not remain silent, and the crime that the government could not prove should be written down with my own pen.

The bureaucracy in India is nothing more nor less than a conglomerate of domination which powerful individuals will always attain over a nation which is disintegrating because of its own neglect and internal weakness. In the natural course of events, such a dominant authority cannot countenance any national awakening or agitation for progress, reform, or justice, because it spells its inevitable downfall. It seeks to crush all agitation by declaring it a crime against constituted authority. No power would permit itself to submit to movements likely to cause its own decline, however much such decline might be in the ultimate interest of justice. This state of affairs is merely a struggle for existence in which both sides fight desperately for their principles. An awakened nation aspires to attain what it considers its birthright, and the dominant authority does not budge an inch from its position of unquestioned sway. It is contended that the latter party, even like its opponents, cannot be blamed because it is fighting for its own survival; and it is quite incidental that its existence happens to be inimical to the perpetuation of justice. We cannot deny facts of human nature and its inseparable characteristics. Like good, evil also desires to live in this world and struggles for its existence.

In India, such a struggle for the survival of the fittest has already commenced. Most certainly, therefore, nothing can be a higher crime against the Government, than the agitation which seeks to terminate its unequivocal authority in the name of liberty and justice. I fully admit that I am not only guilty of such agitation, but that I belong to that band of prisoners who originally sowed the seed of such agitation in the heart of their nation and dedicated their whole lives to the cherishing and breeding of this holy discontent. I am the first Muslim in India who invited his nation for the first time, in 1912, to commit this crime, and, within three years, succeeded in bringing about a revolution in their slavish mentality. Hence, if the Government regards me a criminal and, consequently, desires to award punishment, I earnestly acknowledge that it would not be an unexpected thing and that I will hold absolutely no grudge against them.

After the 17th of November, the thing which was most desired and wished (by the Government) was that on 24th December, when the Prince of Wales was to arrive in Calcutta there should be no *Hartal*. The folly that had been committed by introducing the *Criminal Amendment Act 1908*, would be accepted at least for one day. The Government felt that my presence and that of Mr. C.R. Das stood in its way. Both of us, therefore, were arrested after some bewilderment and consultations.

For the last two years I could not remain continuously in Calcutta. All my time was spent either in the activities of the Khilafat Committee or in political tours of the country. But suddenly the news about the fresh repression of the Bengal Government and of the communique of the 18th reached me in Bombay. Under these circumstances it became impossible for me to remain outside Calcutta. I consulted Gandhiji, and he, too, was

of the opinion that I should cancel all programmes and return to Calcutta. We were apprehensive that the repression by the Government may make the people uncontrollable and indisciplined. Upon reaching Calcutta on the 1st of December, I saw repression as well as tolerance, both at their extreme.

I saw that the Government, unnerved by the memorable *Hartal* of the 17th November, had become like one who loses all sense of proportion in anger and rage. With one stroke of the pen, all the national organisations of volunteers were declared unlawful under the *Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908*. All public gatherings were banned. Discretion of the police became synonymous with law, and, under the pretext of “unlawful organisation, suspicion and investigation”, it was permitted to do anything. On the obverse side, it was as if people had taken oaths for patience and perseverance, and were determined neither to be violent under any provocation nor to be deterred from their path.

Under these circumstances the path of duty was clear. I saw two bitter realities naked before me. First, the entire machinery of the Government had been geared up at Calcutta. The final decision of victory or defeat would, therefore, be at this very place. Secondly, so far we had been struggling for full liberty; but present circumstances had revealed that this was not possible. Freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, these are the birthrights of man. The suppression of these, in the words of the famous philosopher Mill, is no way less than “the massacre of humanity”. This suppression was being carried on without any misgivings. So I cancelled all other programmes and decided to remain in Calcutta so long as one of the two things did not happen, either the Government withdrew its communique or arrested me.

The past few days have provided for the pages of history, two realities. If on the one hand, all the false veils have been lifted off the face of the government, on the other hand, national strength has also manifested itself after having passed through a hard ordeal. The world witnessed that if government was unbridled in its use of violence and repression, patience and tolerance also gained momentum simultaneously. Just as it has always been belied it can even be denied today, but it will be the most instructive story for future historians: how moral and passive resistance can defeat the repression and pride of material forces, and how is it possible to face bloody weapons with non-violence and sacrifice! In the two parties existing in that country, I do not know where to find the teachings of that great man who had brought the message of patience and Godliness against evil, I think the bureaucrats will not be unaware of his name; his name was Jesus Christ.

The philosophy of history tells us that lack of wisdom and far-sightedness was always a friend of the declining powers. The Government imagined that they would suppress the Khilafat and Swaraj with violence



and repression and the *Hartal* of the 24th could be warded off. But soon it realised that repression let loose against national awakening is likely to prove fatal. I confess that not only on these two occasions but in numerous speeches made in the last two years I have used these and even stronger phrases. To say so is my imperative duty and I cannot hesitate from performing it simply because it would be regarded a crime under section 124A. I want to repeat this even now and will go on repeating it so long as I have the power of speech. If I do not do it I will be guilty of the worst crime before the Creator and His creation.

Certainly, I have said, "This government is a tyrant." But if I do not say so what else should I say? I do not understand why I am expected not to call a spade a spade? I refuse to call white, a thing which appears black. These are the mildest and the softest words that I can use. I cannot think of any other expression for such a crystal reality. I have been saying that there are only two paths open before us. The Government should refrain from doing injustice and jeopardising our rights; and if it can't do so, it must be wiped out of existence. A thing which apparently is an evil should either mend itself or end itself. When I am convinced of the evil deeds of this Government, I cannot be expected to pray for its long life.

Why is it that this has become an article of my faith as well as that of millions of my countrymen? Let me make it clear that this is my faith simply because I am an Indian; because I am a Muslim; because I am a man. It is my belief that liberty is the natural and God-given gift of man. No man and no bureaucracy consisting of men has the right to make slaves of the servants of God. However attractive be the euphemism invented for *subjugation* and *slavery*, still slavery is slavery, and it is opposed to the will and canons of God. I, therefore, consider it my bounden duty to liberate my country from its yoke.

The notorious fallacies of *reform* and *gradual transference of power* can create no deviation in my unequivocal and definite faith. Liberty is the basic right of man, and it is nobody's personal privilege to prescribe limits or apportion shares in its distribution. To say that a nation should get its liberty in graduated stages is the same as saying that an owner should receive his rightful property only in bits, and the creditor his dues by instalments. Evil cannot be classified into good and bad. All that in fairness is possible is to differentiate the varying degree. For instance, we can say "very heinous robbery" and "less heinous robbery", but who can speak of good robbery and bad robbery? I cannot, therefore, conceive of any justification for such imposition, because, by its very nature, it is an act of inequity.

I am a Muslim and by virtue of being one, this has become my religious duty. Islam never accepts as valid a sovereignty which is personal, or is constituted of a bureaucracy, or a handful of paid executives. Islam constitutes a perfected system of freedom and democracy. It has been



revealed to recover for the human race the liberty which has been snatched away from it. Monarchs, foreign dominations, selfish religious pontiffs and power brokers, all had misappropriated this liberty of man. They had been fondly nursing the belief that power and possession spell the highest right. The moment Islam appeared it proclaimed the highest right is not might but right itself. No one, except God, has got the right to make serfs and slaves of God's creatures. All men are equal and their fundamental rights are on a par. Only he is greater than others whose deeds are the most righteous of all.

Sovereignty as defined by the Prophet of Islam and the Khalifas was a perfected concept of democratic equality, and it could only take shape with the whole nation's will, unity, suffrage and election. This is why the sovereign or a president of a republic is like a designated Khalifa. Khilafat literally means nothing more nor less than representation, so that the authority a Khalifa possesses consists in his representative role, and he possesses no power beyond this representative authority.

Islam defines it as a duty of Muslims to refuse to acknowledge the moral justification, even of an Islamic government, if full play is not granted in it to the will and franchise of the nation. It is, then, obvious what ruling Islam would give to a foreign bureaucracy. If today there was to be established in India an Islamic government, but if the system of that government was based on personal monarchy or upon bureaucratic oligarchy, then to protest against the existence of such a government would still be my primary duty as a Muslim. I would still call the government oppressive and demand its replacement.

I confess that this original concept of Islamic sovereignty could not be maintained because of the selfishness and personal ambition of the later Muslim sovereigns. The magnificence of the emperors of Ancient Rome and of the Shahs of Persia had attracted the Muslim sovereigns to the dubious glory of great monarchical empires. They began to prefer the majestic figures of Kaiser or Khosroe to the simple dignity of the original Khalifas, clad often times in old tattered robes. No period of the dynasties and sovereignties of Islam has, however, failed to produce some true Muslim martyrs, who have made public declarations against the tyrannies and transgressions of such monarchies, and, joyfully and triumphantly, suffered all miseries and hardships which were inflicted upon them in the thorny path of duty.

To expect from a Muslim that he should not pronounce what is right, is to ask him to renounce Islam. If you have no right to expect a person to give up his religion, then certainly you cannot require a Muslim to call tyranny, by any other name, because both expectations are synonymous. This vital organ of Islamic life, if cut off, terminates its best characteristics. In the Quran, the Holy Book of Islam, the Muslims have been told that they are witnesses of truth in the God's universe. In the case of a nation their

witness has equal prowess.

But how would this national duty be performed? Islam has indicated three different standards under three different conditions: "If any one of you sees an evil, it is necessary that you should correct it with your own hands. If you do not have the power to do it personally you should proclaim it, and if you feel that you have not the power to denounce it, you should consider it evil in your heart at least. But this last degree is the weakest stage of religion." In India we do not have the capacity to correct the evils of the government with our own hands. We have, therefore, adopted the second measure, i.e. we denounce its evils.

The Holy Prophet of Islam has preached the following doctrine to the Muslims: "That man is blessed with the best of deaths who proclaims truth in face of a tyrannical administration and is slaughtered as punishment of this deed." The Holy Quran defines the greatest attribute of the true Muslim as "Not fearing any being except God, and whatever he considers to be truth, he reckons not any authority in the public proclamation of such truth." The Quran further defines the national characteristic of the Muslims as follows: "As long, therefore, as they continue to be Muslims they cannot desist from giving this public evidence." In fact it has designated Muslims as witnesses, i.e. givers of the evidence of truth. When the Prophet of Islam extracted a promise of righteousness from any person, one of the clauses of such a bond used to be, "I will always proclaim the truth in whatever condition and wherever I may happen to be."

To those Muslims who regard it as their religious duty that they should accept death rather than hesitate from proclaiming the truth, a conviction under section 124A can never be a very frightening thing; the maximum punishment for it is life imprisonment.

In the early Islamic days Muslims were truthful to such an extent that an old woman could in an open court, dare say to the Khalifa of the time, "If you fail to do justice, your hair would be pulled out." And instead of instituting a case against her he would thank God that such outspoken tongues were present in the nation. At the *Jumma* prayer gathering, when the Sultan would get up and say, "Hear and obey", a man would get up at once and say, "Neither will we hear nor obey."

"Why?"

"Because the cloak that you have got on your person is much more than your own share of cloth and this is a breach of trust."

Thereupon, the Khalifa would produce his son for his witness who would declare that he had given his own share of cloth to his father and this cloak was prepared with that share.

This attitude of the nation was towards the Khalifa, whose bravery and enterprise overthrew the throne of Egypt and Iran. Nevertheless, there was no 124A in the Islamic government. When the attitude of Muslims towards

Islamic governments has been such, what can the officers of an alien government expect from us? Is "the government established by law" in India dearer to us than the one established by Shariat?

Is the kingship of England and status of the Lord Reading more respectable for us than the Khilafat of Abdul Malik and the status of Hajaj-bin-Yusuf? If we leave aside the great difference between "alien and non-Muslim" and "national and Muslim", even then, what we have been saying for the governments of Hajaj-bin Yousuf and Khalid Qasri, we will repeat about the Reading and Chelmsford governments. We had said to them, "Fear God because the earth is loaded with your tyrannies", we repeat the same today. As a matter of fact, what we are doing today in India, on account of our weakness and helplessness, was, in reality, meant to be done towards the tyranny and repression of Islamic administrators and not towards alien rulers. Had the agents of the British Government understood this reality, they would have realised that the patience and toleration of Muslims has passed all limits.

Islam has pointed at two ways of facing the tyranny of rulers, the choice being contingent upon different existing situations. One situation is where forcible possession is taken by alien rulers, the other is possession by Muslim tyrants. For the first, Islam orders the use of the sword. For the second, the commandment forbids the use of the sword, but, as far as possible, requires that every Muslim should go on proclaiming the truth. In the first case, there are executions at the hands of the enemies, while in the second place, there are untold sufferings and punishments at the hands of the tyrants. Muslims should make sacrifices in both cases and the result will be victory. Consequently, the Muslims made both kinds of sacrifices in the last thirteen centuries. They have suffered martyrdoms at the hands of alien rulers and have patiently proclaimed the tyranny of their own. In the first case their 'war efforts' were without parallel, in the second their 'spirit of martyrdom' was unique.

Today, the Muslims of India have adopted the second course against their alien rulers, although their fight is in the first category.

The time had come for them to launch 'the war effort' but they opted for 'martyrdom'. They decided not to fight with weapons, to remain non-violent, i.e. they will do the same as they did in the case of Muslim rulers. Undoubtedly, the particular state of affairs prevailing in India is responsible for this attitude. The government should think about what all these suppressed Muslims can still accomplish. Unexpectedly, they are doing against the foreigners what they should have done in the case of their co-religionists.

Truly, I have not the slightest grievance that a case has been set up against me with a view to awarding a sentence. But it is very painful for me to think that a Muslim is expected not to call tyranny by name, because he will be tried under section 124A. Islamic history has several instances on

record where horrendous punishments are awarded for speaking the truth. An autocratic monarch ordered each organ of a rebellious victim's body to be cut off. The charge against the victim was that he had condemned the injustice of the tyrant. Firm as a rock he stood and took the punishment in all its heinous stages, but his tongue, right until the moment when it was severed, went on proclaiming that the autocrat was a tyrant. This incident occurred during the reign of Emperor Abdul Malik whose domain extended from Africa to Sind. Can anyone, then, attach any weight to a sentence under section 124A as compared to this penalty?

I confess that it is the moral decadence of Muslims and their renouncing the real Islamic life, which is responsible for this fallen state. While I am writing these lines I know that there are still many Muslims in India who pay homage to this very tyranny. But the failure of man to live upto the spirit of certain tenets cannot belie the intrinsic truth of those principles. The tenets of Islam are preserved in its scriptures. Under no circumstances is it permissible for Muslims to enjoy life at the expense of freedom. A true Muslim has to either immolate himself or to live as a free man; no third course is open for him in Islam.

During the last two years not a single day has passed when I have not proclaimed the tyranny of the government with regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab affairs. I admit to having always said that a government which is bent upon exterminating the Khilafat and is neither prepared to compensate nor is ashamed of the tyrannies in the Punjab, cannot evoke any loyalty in the heart of any Indian.

On December 13, 1917, when I was interned in Ranchi, I wrote a detailed letter to Lord Chelmsford stating that if the British Government, against its declared promise, ever takes possession of Islamic countries or Islamic Khilafat, the Indian Muslims would find themselves faced with two alternatives, either to side with Islam or with the British Government.

This is exactly what happened. The Government glaringly broke its promise. Neither was the promise of January 2, 1914, kept nor could it keep the promise which Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England, made in the course of a speech in the House of Commons on January 5, 1918. These events created a strange situation for the Indian Muslims. The minimum that they could do, under the Islamic law, was to withdraw their support and co-operation. Muslims have come to believe that to obtain what is right and just they must have Swaraj.

My own declaration in this respect, however, is quite unequivocal. The present government is an unjust bureaucracy. It is absolutely opposed to the will and wishes of millions of people. It has always preferred prestige over justice and truth. It regards the barbaric massacre of Jallianwala as the right action; it considers no injustice to have men creep like animals; it allows young students to be whipped until they become unconscious, simply ~~because~~ they refuse to salute the Union Jack; it does not desist from



trampling over the Islamic Khilafat even after receiving petitions from thirty crore people; it sees nothing wrong in breaking all its pledges and promises. Simply because tyranny is powerful and equipped with prison houses, should I buckle under and call this government “just” and say “do not mend and do not end!” Should I not call it “tyrant” and ask it to “*either mend or end?*” Is the oppressor, because he is possessed of power and jails at his disposal, entitled to some other epithet? In the words of the freedom fighter Joseph Mazzini of Italy, I should say, “We shall not deny your guilt just because you have some transient power in your hands.”

Continuously in the last twelve years I have been training my community and my country to demand its rights and liberty. I was only eighteen years old when I first started speaking and writing on this theme. I have consigned my entire existence to it, and have sacrificed the best years of my life, i.e. the whole of my youth, to my love for this ideal. For four years I have suffered internment, but even during my internment I have never desisted from pursuing my goal and inviting people to adopt this national ideal. This is the mission of my life, and, if I live at all I elect to live only for this single purpose. Even as the Quran says, “My prayers and my observances, my life and my death are all for my Lord, the God of the universe.”

How could I deny this “crime” when I have pioneered this latest phase of the Islamic movement in India which has created a tremendous revolution in the political world of the Indian Muslims and has gradually elevated them to that pinnacle of national consciousness on which they are seen today. In 1912, I started an Urdu journal, *Al-Hilal*, which was the organ of this movement, the object of its publication being what I have stated above. It is a fact that, within three years, it had created a new spirit in the religious and the political life of the Muslims of India.

Previously, they were not only cut off from the political activities of their Hindu brothers but were instruments in the hands of the bureaucracy. The Government’s policy of ‘divide and rule’ had created an apprehension in their mind that Hindus are large in numbers; and if the country attains Independence there will be Hindu Raj in India. But *Al-Hilal* persuaded them to have confidence in their faith instead of lamenting their numerical inferiority, and invited them to join hands fearlessly with the Hindus. Bureaucracy could not tolerate such a movement for long. First of all, the security of *Al-Hilal* was forfeited, and, when the paper was restarted under the name of *Al-Balagh*, the Government of India interned me in 1916. I must add that *Al-Hilal* was out and out an invitation for ‘liberty or death’.

On the 1st of January, 1920, after an internment of four years, I was set at liberty. Since then until the moment I was arrested again, all my time was spent in publicity and propaganda of these ideals. On February 28th and 29th, 1920, a Khilafat Conference was held in the Town Hall of Calcutta where the disillusioned Muslims made this announcement: “If the British

Government even now fails to accede to the demands of the Khilafat, the Muslims, in accordance with their religious injunctions, will be compelled to cut off all loyal connection.”

I was the President of that Conference.

I had clearly explained, in my long Presidential address, all the facts which are presented in these two speeches, on the basis of which I am being tried here. In this address I offered an explanation of the Islamic injunction under which the Muslims are required to non-cooperate, i.e. withdraw their help and co-operation from the Government.

It was here, in this Conference, where the resolution was adopted under which it was declared un-Islamic for any faithful Muslim to serve in the army. The Karachi case was launched on the basis of the same resolution. I have often pointed out in the press and in my numerous speeches that this resolution was, first of all, drafted by me and it has been thrice adopted under my Presidentship. So I am the proper person to be punished for this ‘crime’. I have, with certain additions, published this statement in a book form with its English translation, as if it were a written proof of my ‘offences’.

During the last two years, alone, and with Mahatma Gandhi, I have undertaken several tours of the country. There is hardly any city where I have not delivered speeches again and again on The Khilafat, The Punjab, The Swaraj and Non-cooperation, and where I have not repeated all these things which are stated in these two speeches.

In December 1920, a Conference of the All-India Khilafat Committee was held at the same time as the annual session of the Indian National Congress. In April 1921, a conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema was held in Bareilly; in October of last year, the U.P. Provincial Khilafat Conference took place in Agra; in November, the annual session of the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema was held in Lahore. I was the President of all these conferences and whatever was said by all the speakers in all these conferences or by me in the Presidential speeches contained all the things that are being condemned in these two speeches. I must declare that they were more unambiguous and unequivocal than these.

If the implications of my two speeches comes under Section 124A, I must confess that I have committed this crime times without number. I will have to say that in the last two years I have done nothing except infringement of section 124A.

In this war of liberty and justice, we have adopted the path of non-violent non-cooperation. Opposite us stands an authority armed with the complete equipment for oppression, excess, and bloodshed. But we place our reliance and trust, next to God, only upon our own limitless power of sacrifice and unshakeable fortitude. Unlike Mahatma Gandhi, my belief is not that armed force should never be opposed by armed force. It is my belief that opposing of violence with violence is in harmony with the



natural laws of God, provided those circumstances exist under which Islam permits the use of violence. But at the same time, for the purpose of liberating India, I entirely agree with all the arguments of Mahatma Gandhi, and I have complete confidence in his honesty. It is my conviction that India cannot achieve success by the use of arms, nor is it advisable for her to adopt that course. India can only triumph through non-violent agitation, and her triumph will be a memorable example of the victory of moral force.

What I have already said at the beginning, I repeat the same in conclusion. All that the Government is doing today with us is contemptible. Violence and oppression are always the last resort of foreign governments especially at the time a nation awakens. We should not expect that human instinct will be changed for us. This is a natural weakness of all individuals and organisations. How many men are there in the world who would return the smallest thing that comes into their possession simply because they have no right over it? Then why should any honesty be expected when the question is of returning an entire continent? Power lust does not acknowledge a certain argument simply because it is reasonable and logical. It does not yield until a greater power comes along, and compels it to submit to a new set of unreasonable and illogical demands.

If our passion for freedom and for asserting our right is true, the very government which regards us as criminals today will be compelled to greet us tomorrow as victorious patriots.

I have been charged with *sedition*, but let me understand the meaning of *sedition*. Can *sedition* be defined in terms of that struggle for freedom which has not been successful? If so, I plead guilty! But at the same time let me state that this very thing, when successful, is called patriotism. The insurgent leaders of Ireland were regarded rebels until yesterday, but what title would the Great Britain suggest for De Valera and Griffith today?

Consequently, what is happening today, would be judged tomorrow. We have faith in the judgement of the future. It is natural to expect showers when there are clouds in the sky. We see signs for the change of weather. But how pitiful are those eyes which refuse to see the signs.

I had said in these speeches that the seed of liberty can never yield fruit unless fertilised by the water of oppression. The government has begun its fertilisation process.

I had also said, "Don't be sad over the arrest of Khilafat volunteers. If you really want justice and freedom, get ready to go to prisons."

I want to say something to the Magistrate. Let him award the maximum punishment that he can, without hesitation. I will never have any complaint or grudge. I know it that unless the entire administration is changed, its instruments will continue to grind away in the old rut.

I conclude my statement in the words of Gardino Bruno, the famous martyr of Italy who like me, was also made to stand before the court: "Give me the maximum punishment that can be awarded without hesitation. I

assure you that the pain that your heart will feel while writing the order, not a hundredth part of it will be felt by me while hearing the judgment.”

Mr. Magistrate, I will not take any more time of the Court now. It is an interesting and instructive chapter of history which both of us are engaged in writing. The dock has fallen to our lot and to yours the magisterial chair. I admit that this chair is as necessary for this work as this dock. Come, let us finish our role in this memorable drama. The historian is eagerly awaiting, and the future is looking forward to us. Allow us to occupy this dock repeatedly and continuously, and, you may also go on writing the judgment again and again. For some more time this work will continue, until the gates of another Court are flung open. This will be the Court of the Law of God. Time will act as its judge and pass the judgment. And that verdict will be final in all respects.

## ***Tarjuman - ul - Quran***

**Say: He is God, the one only:  
God, on whom all depend!  
He begetteth not, nor is begotten;  
And there is none like Him  
(Quran: 112: 1-4)**

## Dedication

It was December, 1918. I was imprisoned at Ranchi. I had just stepped out of the mosque after the *Isha* prayer, when I felt that someone was following me. I turned around to see a man draped in a blanket standing behind me:

Do you wish to say something to me?

Yes, Sir. I have come a long way.

Where from?

From across the Frontier.

When did you reach here?

This evening. I am a very poor man. I walked from Kandhar to Quetta. There I met traders from my country. They took me in their service and dropped me at Agra. I have walked all the way here from Agra.

Alas! Why did you take all this trouble?

So that I could ask you to explain some portions of the Quran to me. I have read each and every word of *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh*.

The man stayed for a few days, then, suddenly, returned home. He did not meet me before leaving because he was apprehensive that I would try to give him money for travelling expenses. He did not want to burden me. His return journey, too, would have mostly been conducted on foot.

I don't remember his name. I don't even know whether he is alive or dead. Had my memory not failed me, I would have dedicated this book to him.

**Abul Kalam**  
**Calcutta, 12 September, 1931**

# *Tarjuman-ul-Quran\**

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the year 1916 when the announcement was made in the columns of my weekly journal, *Al-Balagh*, that I proposed to prepare and publish an explanatory Urdu translation of the Quran, styled *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* and a commentary of it called “Tafsir-al Bayan”, I did not have even the slightest misgiving that I was undertaking a task which would lie in abeyance for nearly fifteen years, keeping the public in a state of tiresome expectation and giving me an acute sense of painful frustration. Such was the course of events that I had to bear!

### Externment

Hardly had a few months passed since this announcement, when, on the 3rd of March 1916, the Government of Bengal chose to issue, under the Defence of India Ordinance, an order for my immediate externment from Bengal. The order came in so suddenly that I had hardly time to make the necessary arrangements for the continuation of *Al-Balagh* or for the publication of the projected volumes of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* and “Tafsir-al-Bayan”.

Since, already, under this very Defence of India Ordinance, my entry into the provinces of Delhi, the Punjab, United Provinces, and Madras had been banned, the only two provinces where I could betake myself were the

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\**Tarjuman-ul-Quran* was to be issued in three volumes. Two of them were published during Maulana's lifetime. About the third, Maulana told his distinguished English translator, Syed Abdul Lateef, that its manuscript may have been packed in the trunks that were sent from Ahmednagar Jail to Calcutta. That manuscript could never be located. What we have today is Maulana's translation of eighteen parts of the Quran. Volume II was published in 1936. Both volumes were revised at Ahmednagar, and a second edition was published in 1945. In 1931 Maulana wrote “Now that Volume I of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* is being published and Volume II is in preparation, I can dare say that the greatest obstacle in religious reform of the Muslims has been removed.” The above is a selection from his Preface and his commentary on *Surat-al-Fatiha*, from the excellent English rendering by Syed Abdul Lateef.

provinces of Bihar and Bombay, and I chose Ranchi in Bihar for my place of refuge. The idea was that, as this place was at a convenient distance from Calcutta, I could still pursue my literary activities from there.

When the project (*Tarjuman*) was originally conceived in 1915, I had three objectives before me. One was to prepare a translation of the Quran, the second was to write a Commentary thereon, and the third was to contribute a Prolegomena to the Commentary. The three works, as I thought, were to meet the needs of three distinct sets of people interested in the Quran - the Translation, the needs of the average reader; the Commentary, of those who cared to make a detailed study of the Quran; and the Prolegomena, the needs of the advanced scholar.

By the time the announcement was made through *Al-Balagh* of my proposed publications, five parts of the Quran had already been translated, and the Commentary had covered the matter of the Quran up to the *Al-Imran* or Chapter three of the Quran, and the Prolegomena had been set up in the form of notes. With a view to executing the plan speedily, I had arranged that printing should proceed side by side with the preparation of matter for the press. The hope entertained was that the translation would not only be completed, but even published by the end of a year, as also at least the first volume of the Commentary. The days of the week were distributed thus: three for editing the journal, *Al-Balagh*, two for translating the Quran, and two for writing the Commentary.

## Internment

But on the 8th of July 1916, the Government of India suddenly issued an order, this time, for my internment, and thus cut off every hope of my maintaining contact with the outside world.

There now remained for me only one field of activity, that of literary pursuit. The 19 clauses of the Internment Regulation could not touch me in that field. I, therefore, thought that I should rest content with that. Indeed, although every form of liberty had been snatched from me, I knew that here was a form of liberty which no one could take away from me - the liberty of reading and writing and conserving the result of my thought; and I veritably felt that of all the comforts that life could offer, none had, in fact, been denied to me, and that I could even live my full life in such a situation. But not three months had passed in this state, when I was called upon again to face a further ordeal.

## Seizure of Manuscripts

When the order of internment was served on me, my residence was searched, and whatever papers that I had with me were seized. These papers included the manuscripts of my translation and the Commentary. The manuscripts of these two works probably seemed innocuous. They were returned to me after a couple of weeks. But the Government of India

thought that this was a hasty step on the part of the local Government. At the time, the Intelligence Department of the Government of India was under the charge of Sir Charles Cleveland. This gentleman took an inordinate personal interest in this affair. He first went to Calcutta where he took two weeks to conduct his investigations, and then he came down to Ranchi, made a fresh search of my residence, and carried away with him not only the manuscripts of the translation and the Commentary which had been returned by the local Government, but also the manuscripts of every other of my writings and indeed every scrap of printed matter that lay about me.

When this incident took place, the translation of eight parts of the Quran had been finished, and the Commentary had covered the text of the Quran up to *Al-Nisa*, or Chapter four of the Quran. Not a scrap of my writing was left with me. Undeterred by this event, I went on as before, took up the subsequent portion of the Quran for translation and finished it by the end of 1918. This, together with the translation of the first eight parts which were then with the Government of India, completed the translation of the entire Quran.

I, then, opened correspondence with the Government of India for the return of my manuscripts. The reply was that neither could they be returned forthwith, nor was the Government in a position to say when they would be returned. Since, apparently, there was no early hope of their return to me - and one could not say what might happen next - I thought it better to re-translate the first eight parts which had been seized by the Government of India. It was by no means an easy task to write over again what had already been written and lost; it was an ordeal. Still, I faced it and finished the work. Indeed, I sent for an Urdu typewriter, and, had more than half of the matter typed by 27th December, 1919, when the Government chose to set me free.

The obstacles in the way of printing and publishing my writings, no doubt, were now no longer there. But the country at that hour was preparing itself for a huge political movement of non-cooperation, so much so, that the demand was pressed from all sides for the resuscitation of my old weekly, *Al-Hilal*. The demand was imperative and I had to yield. Not merely this, I had to throw myself zealously into the activities of the new movement.

Notwithstanding my preoccupations with politics, a further demand was made on my time, by calling upon me to publish *Tarjuman ul-Quran* also. Since its printing in type was not considered suitable, arrangement was made for its printing in lithograph. The Arabic text was first copied for the press and this was completed in November 1921. The copying of the translation on the lithograph paper was taken up. But hardly had this work begun when the decree of Time was pronounced once again, against my plan.



At the close of 1921, the activities connected with the Non-cooperation Movement had reached their climax making it inevitable for Government to employ all its resources to thwart them. The Government of Bengal was the first to take action. On the 20th of November 1921, it banned all the organizations which, in one form or another, had something to do with the movement. This opened the way, eventually, for the declaration of the Indian National Congress as an unlawful body, and, on the 10th of December 1921, along with my colleagues, I was arrested.

This time my arrest should not have disturbed the work of printing. The manuscript was in a completed form, and I had made every arrangement to carry on the printing of it in my absence. But the event which followed my arrest was distressing. It not only blocked the publication of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* and the Commentary, but cooled down all my enthusiasm for literary work. When the government realized that it had no data to proceed against me in a court of law, it began to search for possible adverse material. For the third time, my residence and my press were searched. Among those who came to carry out the search, there was hardly one who could understand Urdu or Arabic or Persian. Whatever they could lay their hands upon - things written in those languages - they thought, should contain something of value to them. They carried away with them all the manuscripts that I had with me. Even the litho-frames were seized and rudely shoved into the heap of manuscripts which they had collected. Fifteen months after, when I was set free, I applied to the Government for the restoration of my papers. It took a long time to return them. The material reached my hands in a ruined state.

The manuscript papers which the investigation officers had taken possession of were of different sizes and had been put together in separate bundles. Apart from certain complete and incomplete manuscripts, the collection had consisted of a variety of written matter. But when the material was returned to me, it presented the spectacle of a jumbled mass of mere rags.

The trial was agonizing; and yet, I tried to rise to the occasion. This was the bitterest cup ever held up to my lips. I drank its contents without the slightest demur. But I cannot deny that its bitterness, I still feel in my throat.

The uproar of political activity and the calmness of literary life could not proceed together. Conciliation between fire and flake of cotton is never possible. I wished to bring the two together. On the one hand, I went on piling up the efforts of my thought, and on the other, invoked incessantly the scorching lightning to touch them. I knew the result. I have, therefore, no right to complain. If The *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, and the Commentary were ever to make their appearance before the public, it was clear that I should start writing them over again. After all that had happened, my spirits were so depressed that, however much I could try, they refused to revive. I felt the wound inflicted by the latest blow too deep to heal.

What irritated me repeatedly was the depressing thought that a thing which had already been written should be written over again. For an author, this is the most arduous of ordeals. One may easily produce new matter altogether. But it is distressing to re-write even a single page of what had already been written and lost for ever. To revive enthusiasm for intellectual effort, once it is smothered by the ruination of one's achievements is by no means easy. Only those can appraise the agony who themselves have passed through it. When I first read the story of Carlyle, how he sat up to write, over again, the entire work of his which had been lost during the French Revolution, and how the intellectual world of the time applauded his effort as something extraordinary, I failed to see how it was extraordinary. But when I had to go through the same mill, I realized that his effort was not only extraordinary, but something amazing. No greater proof could be adduced to establish the greatness of Carlyle as a man of letters.

For several years, I could not bring myself to recommence. Several times, I did open the bundles which contained the remains of my ruins; but the moment my eyes rested on them, old memories revived and I had to lay aside the task hardly before I had sketched but a couple of pages.

But I could not turn away altogether from the task which concerned the deepest need of the Muslim mind. The delay in the discharge of this duty grew, therefore, increasingly embarrassing to me. The feeling was creeping on me that if this need was left unattended to by me, one never knew after what lapse of time what arrangement was possible to fulfil it.

The year 1927 was coming to its close. Suddenly there was a rumbling in my long benumbed spirit, and the door to literary activity, which, notwithstanding repeated shocks in the past, had refused to open, seemed now suddenly to burst open of its own accord. The work was commenced. For a little while I felt intermittent jerks in my movement. But as I attuned myself to the new situation, my path grew smooth, and a feeling came upon me that the past mishaps of life never had any existence for me. Not merely this, I noticed myself that my pace of writing was never so rapid as now.

The conquest of the mind and heart is a wonderful experience. There was a time when hard as one might try, every inclination to write was repressed. But now I felt I was so seized with the urge to write that I realized that I could not control the movement of my pen. The thing went on. Feeling that the Commentary of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha* was of primary importance to the interpretation of the Quran, I gave it my prior attention. Circumstances of life were no doubt depressing. The distempers of a political career was always there to disturb the tenor of my work. Nevertheless, I persisted on, and on the 20th July 1930, when I was in the District Jail of Meerut, I finished my work.

## Line of Approach to the Subject

While taking up this work, *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*, for study one may be disposed to know my line of approach in the presentation of the contents and objectives of the Quran. Indeed, anticipating such a wish on the part of my readers, I had contemplated stating the approach followed in a brief preface to the volume. But when I set out to deal with the subject, I soon realized that it was not possible to do justice to it within the brief compass of a preface. The issues involved were so many and so complicated that a satisfactory discussion of them would have necessitated a detailed survey of a very wide and intricate background. The idea was, therefore, given up. Instead, I have attempted here to draw just passing attention to the difficulties or obstacles which usually clog the way of satisfactory study of the Quran so that the reader may, incidentally, obtain a rough idea of at least the purposes underlying the attempt made here to present the Quran to the world of today.

As for the exposition of the principles followed in the presentation of the Commentary, one will have to await the publication of my Prolegomena to the Commentary, in the re-writing of which I am presently engaged.

For various reasons into which one may not go here, the exact message of the Quran has for centuries been steadily kept out of view; so much so, that a very low standard of approach to it has come into vogue. This is noticeable not merely in the approach to the Quranic content but to almost everything connected with it; its language and idiom, its phrase, structure, and its style.

During every age, the author of a work is normally the product of his intellectual environment. It is only those who are gifted with vision and insight who form the exception. When we look back into the history of the commentators of the Quran from the earliest centuries of Islam right up to the close of the last century, we find that the standard of approach to the meaning of the Quran had steadily deteriorated. This was the result of a gradual decadence in the quality of the Muslim mind. When the commentators found that they could not rise to the heights of the Quranic thought, they strove to bring it down to the level of their own mind.

If we are to see the Quran in its true light, it will be necessary for us to lift all those veils which have, from age to age, been laid thereon under the stress of influences alien to the spirit of the Quran, and then search for the reality about it in its own pages.

## Obstacles in the Way of Right Appreciation

These influences are by no means few. They are numerous, and have pervaded every corner of Islamic thought. It is not, therefore, easy to set them out on a brief canvas. I have, however, tried in my Prolegomena to the Commentary of the Quran, to sum them up under certain broad head-

ings. The following are the leading aspects which call for consideration.

The Quran is not bound by any conventionality in its form of presentation or style, or in its manner of address or argument, but follows a way of expression such as is germane to the character of its content or is natural to it. It is this distinctive peculiarity observed by all scriptures which distinguishes them from the conventional forms of literary expression employed in learned discussions.

The first generation of people among whom the Quran was delivered were not a sophisticated race. Their mind was not cast in any artificial or conventional mould furnished by civilization. It was content to receive a simple thought in its plain simplicity. That was why the Quranic thought, simple as it was, sank easily into their hearts. No one at the time felt it difficult to catch its meaning. The moment the companions of the Prophet heard a verse recited to them, they forthwith caught its significance.

Hardly had the first generation of Muslims passed away when the influence of the Roman and Iranian civilization began to sweep over the new Arab empire. Translations from the Greek literature gave them new literary tastes and initiated them into the art of dialectics. Zest for novelty and inventiveness in approach to everything came to be ever on the increase, with the result that the simplicity of the Quranic manner gradually lost its charm for them.

Whenever distance is assumed from naturalness, and artificiality resorted to, we are disinclined to look at things in their natural state. We cannot visualize beauty or grandeur in its simplicity. Whenever we choose to endow a thing with splendour, we invariably try to fix it in a network of ornamentation. This is what exactly happened with the Quran. The disposition of the first generation of Muslims was not cast in any conventional or artificial mould. That was why they instantly caught the meaning of the Quran. But the generations which followed would not let the Quran present itself in its simplicity. Their love for inventiveness or novelty would not allow this. They began to dress everything in the Quran in novel costumes; and since the Quran could not fit into such costumes, the effort to force on it things which did not suit it, repressed its genius and forced its meaning to assume forms by no means natural to it.

The sad result of all this was that the manner of presentation adopted by the Quran was lost in a maze of far-fetched conceits. The strength of the Quranic meaning lies in the manner of its presentation. It is that which lends clarity to its statements and observations, and makes significant the import of its stories and parables, its appeals and admonitions, and its purposes. Once the significance of this manner was missed, the true picture of the Quran was lost to sight. In the words of a poet:

That very page was blackened

Whereon had been noted what was desired.

The manner of argument observed by the Prophet was not to assume



logical poses and confuse the hearer. He adopted the natural way of direct appeal, such as might reach every type of mind, and touch every heart. But the commentators, obsessed by the philosophy and logic of Greece could hardly bring themselves to look at reality in its naturalness and appreciate it. They thought that they were honouring the Prophet and his companions by turning them into dialecticians. They sought to demonstrate the greatness of the Quran by pressing it into the framework of Aristotelian logic, hardly realizing that it was never its primary object. The result was that the beauty and attraction of the Quranic method of argument and of demonstrating its truth was lost in a network of dialectical disquisitions. In fact, the truth had already been lost. The tragedy was that our commentators could not achieve even what they aimed at. They simply left the door wide open to doubt and endless speculation.

The trouble did not end here. The application of philosophy to the Quranic thought gave rise to numerous dialectical terms, with the result that the simple words of Arabic came to be invested with new connotations. The subject of the Quran, it is obvious, is not the philosophy of the Greeks, nor was the Arabic language at the advent of the Quran familiar with its philosophic terms. The words employed in the Quran did not originally bear the meaning which was assigned to them in the light of Greek concepts. The transformation led to a variety of speculations. so much so, that words such as *Khulud*, *Ahdiyat*, *Mithliyat*, *Tafsil*, *Hujjat*, *Burhan* and *Tawil* came to bear meanings which the earliest listeners of the Quran would never have thought of.

As a corollary to this attitude, the idea came to the fore that the Quran should support and endorse every new discovery in scientific knowledge. An attempt, therefore, was made to read therein an argument in favour of the Ptolemaic system, even as the present-day "dispensers of intelligence" who write commentaries on the Quran try to interpret it in terms of every new development in the science of the cosmos.

To make matters worse, the type of commentary known as *Tafsir-bir-rai* or commentary which lets the text subserve one's own personal opinion on any subject, came now freely to be written - a form of commentary strongly discountenanced by the companions of the Prophet. It was not as if reason and insight were tabooed in Islam. Were it so, all study of the Quranic thought would seem futile; for the Quran openly invites its readers to exercise reason in their approach to it, and ponder on what it states. At every corner of its presentation, it exclaims:

Do they meditate on the Quran?

Or, are there locks on their minds? (Q: 47:24)

*Tafsir-bir-rai* is that form of commentary which does not aim to present what the Quran actually states. On the other hand, the commentator has some view to advance and he presses the Quranic text to lend support to

it. This style of commentary came into vogue in the days when every doctrinal belief of Islam came to be seriously examined and a number of schools of theology took their rise, each intent on exploiting the Quran to uphold their point of view. Commentaries written with this purpose are styled *Tafsir-bir-rai*.

Further, when zealous followers of the different juristic schools among Muslims developed the passion for sectarianism, the verses of the Quran were exploited to uphold, by hook or by crook, their own particular schismatic obsessions. Few cared to be guided by the plain meaning of the plain word of the Quran, or by the clear purposes underlying the Quranic method of presentation of its contents, or by straightforward reason. Every one attempted to force the Quranic meaning to conform to the views sponsored by the Imam or founder of his own schismatic school of thought.

To create further complications, certain sections of the Sufi school of thought in their search for the hidden meaning of the Quran, went so far as to press everything Quranic into the moulds of their own formulas. Thus every Quranic injunction and every basic belief came to bear some sort of esoteric connotation. This form of approach is also *Tafsir-bir-rai*.

Take another instance of this *Tafsir-bir-rai*. Attempts were made during the period under reference, to give the Quranic method of argument the garb of Greek logic. In fact, whenever any reference was made to the sky, or the constellary order, attempt was made to square it with the Greek system of astronomy.

Or take the latest examples of interpretation attempted by a certain type of commentators both in India and Egypt in the name of reorientation of the Quranic thought. Attempt is made to invoke the Quran to lend its support to the achievements of modern research in the different spheres of scientific thought, as if the Quran was delivered over 1300 years ago just to endorse in advance, in the form of riddles, what centuries after, men like Copernicus, Newton, Darwin, H.G. Wells, could find out for themselves without the aid of any revealed scripture - riddles reserved to be noticed and unravelled only by the present-day Muslim commentators of the Quran. Such commentaries are also to be classed as *Tafsir-bir-rai*.

Such, in brief, is the story of the Quranic interpretation attempted in the past. But, however brief this survey, it is enough to show the obstacles one has to overcome to reach the Quran, or what thick veils to lift to catch a clear vision of it. The effort will involve a simultaneous survey of every nook and corner of the Quran and the exercise of deep insight into the meaning of things. It is only then that the forsaken reality of the Quran may appear. I have tried to the best of my ability to negotiate with these obstacles.

I cannot say to what extent I have succeeded in my attempt. But I may say this with confidence that I have opened a new avenue for an intelligent approach to the Quran, and hope that men of understanding will notice

that the method adopted by me is something fundamentally different from the method pursued in the past.

Three distinct needs call for attention in connection with the study of the Quran. These have been attended to severally in *Muqaddama-i-Tafsir*, *Tafsir-al-Bayan*, and *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*. The first presents the objects or purposes of the Quran, discusses the principles underlying them and enunciates the leading ideas advanced by the Quran. The second is meant for a detailed study of the Quran, and the last aims to present what is universal in the Quranic teaching.

The last of the series is published first for the reason that in its purposes, it can claim priority of importance, and, in fact, it forms the basis on which the other two works rest. In the preparation of this work, the object kept in view is to present not a detailed commentary on the traditional lines, but to give out all that is essential for an easy grasp of the Quranic meaning. The method of presentation adopted for this purpose, I venture to hope, may be favoured by the thoughtful among us. The aim is to furnish a self-explanatory translation of the Quran in Urdu, explicit enough to convey the sense of the original in full, supported here and there, by appropriate footnotes. These footnotes offer comments on the textual content, furnish details for the Quranic generalisations, disclose the various purposes underlying them, furnish argument or evidence in their support, introduce coherence and order in the different Quranic injunctions, and clarify the meaning of the Quranic text with the utmost brevity. In short, they serve as a beacon light to the thoughtful, "A light gleaming before them and on their right hand", to use the Quranic phraseology (Q:57:12), a light that keeps the reader company and does not desert him.

The explanatory notes furnished have, no doubt, a value of their own, and serve certain specific purposes. But the translation has the strength to stand on its own ground. I say this from my experience. A lad of fifteen years, who could read Urdu freely, was given this translation, and asked to read it before me. To test whether he could easily comprehend the meaning of the matter before him, I put him questions every now and then in the course of his reading. The boy did not find any difficulty in reading out the text and went on answering my questions without any hesitation. Then, I tried this procedure on another, this time on a grown-up man who had learnt Urdu in his adult age and whose proficiency therein just enabled him to read easily what appeared in plain style. Only at three places, did he pause to understand the Persian words used in the translation. But even he did not feel any difficulty in understanding the matter before him. Of course, I replaced by simpler ones the terms that seemed difficult to him.

The arrangement of notes was no less an easy task than the translation of the original text. One could not give to them more than a limited space. But the need was always there to let them be as fully comprehensive in their scope as possible. Care was, therefore, taken to see that they betrayed



no lacunae. The utmost brevity had to be resorted to in their composition; but it may be made clear that every word of these notes is suggestive in import, and opens out vast vistas of possible elaboration.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, I may offer a word or two in respect of this venture on my part to attempt a translation of the entire Quran and also write a commentary thereon.

The subject has engaged my mind seriously over a long period of twenty-seven years. Every chapter of the Quran, every part of it, and, indeed, every verse and every word of it has obliged me to traverse innumerable valleys and to counter numerous obstacles. I may assert that I have looked into a considerable portion of the vast literature, both published and unpublished, that exists today on the subject; and there is not, I believe, any corner of the Quranic knowledge, and of all that has been written so far on the problems which it raises, which I have left unsearched and unnoticed. Distinction, no doubt, is usually made between the old and the new learning. But, in my search for truth, this distinction has never counted. The old I have received as my heritage, and the new is as familiar to me as the old, and I have delved in both:

I have been in life a libertine and a man of piety too  
One by one, I can easily recognise - alike  
The pious and the libertine.

What my family traditions, my education and my social environment had offered in the making of my mind, I was from the very beginning of my life, reluctant to rest content with. The bonds of inherited dependence on the past could not hold me under. The zest of search for truth never forsook me. There is hardly a single conviction in me which has not had to bear the stings of doubt, or a single belief which has not faced the test of denial. I have gulped in poison mixed with every draught applied to my lips, and have also administered to myself elixir coming forth from every quarter. Whenever I felt thirsty, my parched lips did not resemble the lips of others who were equally thirsty, and when I quenched my thirst, it was not from the same fountain as others did. Whatever I could gather in this lengthy period of my life in my search of the Quranic truth, I have tried to understand to the best of my ability, and spread over the pages of this volume :

This is no new tale of fiction, but a confirmation of previous scriptures, and an explanation of all things, and a guidance and mercy to those who believe. (Q : 12 : 111)

District Jail, Meerut  
16 November, 1930

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The attributes of God have always formed a very delicate and complicated subject to handle. It touches the frontiers of metaphysics on the one hand, and of religion on the other, since both have an equal interest therein. Philosophers, more than religious divines, have taken a keen interest in it. The philosophic speculations of early times particularly in India, Greece, and Alexandria, and of the middle ages have given rise to a large body of literature on the subject. When Muslim scholars turned their attention to the question of divine unity, and began to indulge in dialectics, they fought among themselves over the issues raised in consequence and opened the way to a variety of divergent schools of religious thought among themselves. The historic conflict between the Traditionalists (*Ashab-ul-Hadith*) and Free Thinkers (*Asha'ira*) may be cited as but an instance.

This was one of the questions which for long perplexed me in my student days. When the truth dawned on me ultimately, I realized that the way of the dialectician took one nowhere. The more I had pursued it, the more distant did I find myself from the truth. It was only after a very serious and painful reflection that I realized that the way to mental satisfaction was the way marked out by the Quran itself, the way followed tacitly by the first generation of interpreters of the Quran. It is this method which I have followed in my approach to it.

The more I dashed my hands and feet against the waves,

The more woefully perplexed did I feel.

But when I ceased to struggle and lay motionless,

The waves, of their own free will, drifted me across to the shore.

Ahmednagar Fort Jail

7 February, 1945

***Surat-ul-Fatiha***

**The Opening**

***Tarjuman-ul-Quran***

# *Surat-ul-Fatiha*

## Revealed at Mecca - 7 Verses

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

1. Praise is for Allah only - The Lord of All Being !
2. The Benevolent, the Merciful !
3. Master on the Day of Recompense !
4. Thee only do we serve, and Thee only do we ask for help.
5. Direct us to the Straight Path —,
6. The path of those to whom Thou has been gracious —,
7. Not of those who have incurred Thy displeasure, nor of those who have gone astray.

## Importance

The *Surat-ul-Fatiha* is the first chapter of the Quran and for that reason styled *Fatihatul-Kitab* or the opening of the book. Because of its intrinsic value, it has been assigned a place of honour in the Quran and allowed to appear on the very first page of it. Indeed, the Quran endorses its importance in the following terms:

O Prophet ! It is a fact that We have given thee seven oft-repeated verses and the great Quran. (Q : 15 : 87)

It has been established by *Hadith* and *Athar* that the reference here is to this chapter; for, it not only consists of seven verses, but is repeatedly recited in daily worship. It is also called *Sab'a al-mathani* (the oft-repeated Seven). The same sources give it further names - *Umm-ul-Quran* (the Core of the Quran), *Al-Kafia* (The Sufficient), *Al-Kanz* (The Treasure House) and *Asasul-Quran* (The Basis of the Quran), each emphasizing a particular aspect of its importance.

In Arabic, the term, *Umm* applies to concepts and objects which, in one form or another, bear inclusive connotation, or by virtue of which, assume the role of genitives. It is why the central part of the human head is called *Umm-ul-Ras*, because it is the seat of the brains. The flag of an army is called *Umm*, because the army gathers around it. Mecca was known as *Umm-ul-Quran*, for, consequent upon the location of the *Ka'aba* therein and the association therewith of the institution of *Hajj*, it had grown into

a place of assemblage for the people of Arabia. So, to style this chapter as *Umm-ul-Quran* is to acknowledge that in its tense comprehensiveness, it concentrates within its ambit the thought-content of the entire Qur'an, and, on that account, it rightly deserves the place of honour among its chapters.

Further, it is clear from some of the traditions of the Prophet that, even in his own lifetime, this unique role of the chapter had come to be recognized on all hands. The Prophet himself, according to one tradition, is stated to have expressed to *Ubayy bin Ka'ab* that there was no chapter to compare with it, and according to another, to have styled it as the "greatest and the finest chapter".

Looking into the character of the contents of this chapter, it becomes apparent that the rest of the Qur'an is but a detailed commentary of the concentrated substance that it contains, or that it gives out in an epitomized form the fundamental objectives of the faith so elaborately expatiated upon in the rest of the Qur'an. If a person were to read nothing but this from out of the Qur'an and grasp its meaning, he could understand all the essentials of the Faith which form the subject of detailed exposition by the Qur'an. Further, when it is borne in mind that the form given to this chapter is one of invocation and that it is to be an integrated part of a Muslim's daily prayer, not only the importance of the chapter is reinforced, but the fact emphasized that a deep purpose underlies the provision of a concentrated version of the Qur'an clenched to the full form of it. The purpose clearly was to make available to every one an easily intelligible brief version of the Qur'an such as might freely be recited in his daily prayers. It was intended to bring to mind every day the substance of his beliefs, or his spiritual ideology, as well as his programme of righteous living. Hence, for Muslims, a knowledge of the contents of this chapter is regarded as indispensable. According to Bukhari and Muslim, the Islamic form of prayer is incomplete without a recitation of it.

Before we proceed further, the question may as well be posed: what are the essential objectives of the Qur'an, and in what manner are they reflected in this chapter, since it has to function as an epitome of it? These may briefly be stated. In the first place, the Qur'an aims to present the attributes of God in proper perspective, for, it is in his approach to them that man has often blundered. In the second place, it lays emphasis on the principle of causation in life so as to suggest that, even as in nature, every cause has its effect in the domain of human life, both individual and collective; so much so, that a good action produces a good result and an evil action an evil result. In the third place, it aims to inculcate in man a belief in the life hereafter, by pointing out that man's life does not end with his earthly existence, but that there is a life to follow, where one has to account for his life on earth and where the effect of past deeds becomes manifest, as a matter of course. And lastly, it points the way to righteous or good life.

These objectives are all summed up in the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*. The chapter, be it noted, consists of just a few words easily counted. But they are so aptly chosen that they seem invested with striking significance. They are so simple in form. There is nothing complicated about them; nor do they confuse. The fact is that whatever is true to life is always easily comprehended. Look at nature. Nowhere does it appear elusive. Elusiveness is produced by artificiality. All that is true and real will necessarily be plain and attractive, so attractive that when it appears before you, you do not feel any strangeness about it. Indeed, you accept it without hesitation.

Now, think it over. What plainer view can be taken of human devotion to God and all that it implies than what is presented in this chapter? Here are but seven brief phrases, each of not more than five words, every word crystal clear and impressive. God is here invoked in His attributes, the manifestations of which man beholds day in and day out, however much he may, through indifference, neglect to reflect over them. Here you have man's admission of his absolute dependence on God, his acknowledgement of the divine kindness shown to him, his earnest yearning to be saved from the pitfalls of life and to be led along the straight path. Nothing is abstruse here ! Since we repeat this *Surat* so frequently and have grown so familiar with it, it may look as if it is but a commonplace concept of religion. But this very commonplace concept till it emerged before man was by no means commonplace or easy to grasp. So it is with everything real. So long as it does not come into sight, it looks as if there is nothing more difficult to perceive. When it is brought to view, what is there so clear and plain?

Whenever a revelation from the divine has come, it has not brought to the knowledge of man anything strikingly novel; for, in respect of devotion to God, there is nothing novel to impart. The function of revelation has been simply to interpret, on the basis of knowledge and conviction, the inherent urges of man. And this is what the *Surat-ul-Fatiha* does. It expresses the instinctive urges of man so artfully and with such ease that he is impelled to affirm that every line of this chapter, nay every word of it, is but the compulsive voice of his own heart and mind.

Think it over again. Although by the very nature of it, this chapter is no more than a simple invocation, it reveals in every word of it, and in every turn of expression, one or other of the great purposes which underlie the *Din* or the way of life sponsored by the Quran.

The great mistake that man has made in this approach to the concept of God is that he has very often regarded God as the God, not of love, but of terror. The very first word of the chapter sets right this age-long deviation from truth. It begins with *Hamd* or the Praise of God. It is a term signifying the most beautiful form of praise ! 'Praise beautiful' is possible only of a being who truly is beautiful and good. The term cannot therefore sustain the concept of terror. The being which is Mahmud or worthy of



‘the praise beautiful’ will never inspire terror.

The *Hamd* or praise over, the *Surat* draws attention to the all-encompassing providence of God, His mercy and His justice; and thus gives a comprehensive picture of divine attributes which operate to provide man with all that he needs to sustain and develop the humanity in him and prevent him from going down in the scale of life.

And then, by calling God *Rabb-ul-Alamin*, the Lord of all creation or of all forms of life, the *Surat* acknowledges the universal character of divine concern for every individual, group, community, country and every form of existence. The concept puts an end to all notions of exclusiveness which had hitherto prevailed among mankind assigning divine blessing and favours to one’s own community.

The *Surat* then refers to God as *Malik-i-Yawmiddin*, or Master on the Day of Recompense. The word *Din* here postulates a law of recompense. It emphasizes that requital is but the natural reaction to one’s own action, and is its inevitable result. It is not fair, therefore, to assert that God deals out punishment to any one out of revenge or in anger, for, the word *Din* in this context simply means recompense or requital or what follows as a natural sequence.

The significance of *Malik-i-Yawmiddin* is this that alongside the attributes of ‘grace’ and ‘beauty’ those of ‘power’ and ‘pressure’ are also at work in the universe, and this is not because of any sense of anger or revenge in its creator, but because He is just, and because His wisdom has assigned to each object a particular quality productive of a particular result. Justice, according to the Qur’an, is not a negation of mercy. It is mercy itself.

Moreover, the form of prayer suggested in the *Surat* is not, “We serve Thee”, but is specifically worded, “Thee alone do we serve, and from Thee alone do we ask for help”. This manner of expression fulfills the primary condition of belief in the unity of God, and disallows room for every form of *shirk* or associating with God anything beside Him.

Lastly, the path of goodness is styled *Sirat-al-Mustaqim* or the ‘Straight Path’. There could be no better or more appropriate term than this to designate it, for, no one will fail to distinguish between a straight road and a road which is not straight, or disdain to choose the first. And then to enable him to know what a straight road is like, a clear pointer is furnished such as man can easily perceive for himself, and this, not in the form of any abstract idea, but in the form of a concrete reality, namely, the road followed by those on whom God has, as a result of their actions, bestowed favours. For, whatever the country or nation one may belong to, man has always found two ways lying clear before him. One is that of those who have lived successful lives, the other of failures. What is thus so obvious needs only to be hinted at, and that is exactly what is done here. This was the reason why the prayer form was adopted to stress the point. Had it

taken the form of a regular catechism or of a specific command, the effect would have been lost. The prayer form helps to voice the inward condition of one who in sincerity invokes God. It clinches devotional thought intent on seeking a spontaneous expression.

***Hamd***

**Praise of God**

***Tarjuman-ul-Quran***

## *Hamd*

### **Significance of the term *Allah Al-Hamdu Lillah* : Praise is for Allah only.**

In Arabic, the word *Hamd* means Praise. The grammatical prefix *Al* denotes a definite article. So, *Al-Hamdu Lillah* really means, “Praise (strictly speaking) is for Allah only”, since all goodness and perfection exist only in Him and proceed from Him.

Why does the chapter begin with the praise of God? It is, because, such is the initial reaction inevitably created on the mind of one who takes his first step in the direction of God.

What then is the road one should take to seek knowledge of God? The Quran says there is but one road to it, and that is to reflect over the phenomenal world of creation. The study of an invention takes the student, so to say, directly into the very presence of the inventor himself.

Those who bear God in mind, standing, sitting, and reclining, and reflect on the creation of the heavens and of the earth, they will say: “Our Lord! Thou has not created all this in vain”.  
(Q:3:191)

Visualize for yourself what his first impression will be when an earnest seeker of truth reflects over the working of the universe? He will notice that his very being and all that is at work outside of him are the handicraft of a consummate artist, and that the touch of His grace and tender providence is clearly felt in every particle of the universe. Naturally, his mind will be filled with wonder and admiration, so much so, that he will cry out instinctively: “Praise is for God only, Lord of all Being!” Praise truly is His who is the fountainhead of the grace, beauty, and perfection which subsist in every corner of His creation.

The tragedy of the human mind has lain in this that it tends to lose itself in the things of creation and does not always strive to step beyond them to seek the Creator Himself. Man is dazzled by the artistry of the veils which first meet his eye, but rarely does he attempt to lift them and reach Him who has thrown such attractive veils over His own creative beauty. The worship of the phenomenal owes its origin to this defect in vision.

The expression, "Praise is for God only", is a definite affirmation of the fact that the beauty and benevolence which subsist in a variety of forms in every field of existence are but manifestations of the attributes of God. Whatever the esteem in which we may hold beauty, perfection or goodness, the credit should go not to the phenomenal object which displays these qualities, but to the artist who fashioned it into a thing of beauty.

## Allah

Prior to the revelation of the Quran, the term Allah was used in Arabic as a proper name for God, as is borne out by the writings of pre-Islamic poets. It was never used in the sense of an attribute, although He was credited with numerous attributes. The Quran has but followed the usage:

Allah has beautiful names or attributes; so invoke Him by them.  
(Q:7:180)

Did the Quran adopt the term Allah merely out of regard for etymology, or was there any intrinsic appropriateness about its compelling adoption?

In the annals of ancient religious concepts, there was a period when man used to worship objects of nature. In course of time, this form of worship developed into the worship of demi-gods. As corollary to this development, different names in different languages came to be applied to the new deities, and, as time went on, with the widening of scope in worship, the significance of the terms applied also widened. But since it was not agreeable to human nature to let the human mind ignore the concept of a Creator for the world, there lurked therein, alongside of the thought of demigods, the idea, in one form or other, of a Supreme Being as well. So, in addition to the numerous terms coined to designate demi-gods, a term also had necessarily to be invented to apply to this unseen highest being as well.

For instance, a study of the Semitic group of languages - Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, Chaldean, Himyarita and Arabic - discloses that a special style of word formation and of sound had been in vogue among the Semitic peoples to denote the Supreme Being. The alphabets A, L and H combined in varied form to constitute the term by which this Supreme Being was to be styled. The Chaldean and Syriac term *Ilahia*, the Hebrew *Iloha* and the Arabic *Ilah* are of this category. It is the *Ilah* in Arabic which assumed the form of Allah and was applied exclusively to the Creator of the universe.

But if the term Allah is derived from *Ilah*, what then is *Ilah*? Lexicographers have given different stories. The most plausible is that it is itself derived from the root '*lah*', an ejaculation expressive of wonder or helplessness. Some lexicographers trace the term from *Walah* which bears the same significance. Hence the term Allah came to be used as the proper name for the Creator of the universe in respect of whom man can express

nothing except his sense of wonder which increases in intensity, the more he thinks of Him, only to admit, eventually, that the road to the knowledge of God begins and ends in wonder and humility. Says a poet:

Thou art beyond my speech and thought

Woe be unto my specifications of you and my comparisons!

Now consider whether, of all the terms which man has used, there could be any better term than this (Allah) to apply to God. If God is to be called by any attribute, an endless number of terms could be suggested. But attributes apart, if God is to be given a proper name, what other term is there except this to designate a being which inspires nothing but wonder?

This is the reason why whenever anything was said in respect of the highest knowledge gained of God, it was to only admit that the utmost that man could say of God was simply to acknowledge the profundity of his ignorance about Him. The prayer of a gnostic has always been: "O God! increase me in my wonder over what You are". Likewise, the admission of philosophers has always been: "We know this much that we know nothing".

Since the term Allah is used as a proper name for God, it has necessarily to cover all the attributes that can appropriately be associated with His Being. If we visualize God in any particular attribute of His, as when we refer to Him as *Al-Rabb* or *Al-Rahim*, we confine our vision within the limits of the attribute concerned. We shall think of Him only as one who possesses the attribute of Providence or Mercy. But when we refer to Him as Allah, our mind instinctively clenches the sum total of all the qualities attributed to Him, or what He necessarily must possess.\*

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\* This chapter on *Hamd* is followed by a chapter each on every line of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*; *Rububiyat*, *Rahmat*, *Adalat*, *Tawhid* and *Hidayat*. .



***Surat-ul-Fatiha ki  
Talimi Rooh***

**Significance**

***Tarjuman-ul-Quran***

# *Surat-ul-Fatiha* *ki Talimi Rooh*

## **Significance**

Let us, for a moment, look at the *Surat-ul-Fatiha* as a whole and see what type of mind it reflects or tries to build.

Here is a person singing the praise of his Lord. But the Lord he praises is not the Lord of any particular race or community or religious group, but Lord of all the worlds, *Rabbul-Alamin*, the source of sustenance and mercy, uniformly for all mankind. The devotee invokes God in the name of His attributes. But of all His attributes, those of mercy and justice particularly strike his mind, as if divinity manifests itself for him, wholly in divine justice and mercy, and that all that he knows of his God is nothing except that his God is just and merciful. And then he bows down his head in supplication and admits of his entire dependence on his Lord. He utters: "Thee alone do I worship, and from Thee alone do I seek help". The devotee thus thinks of his Lord as an abiding source of all help to him in life and discards every thought of dependence on any other. Thus strengthened in spirit, he thinks of his duty in life. He feels that he must pursue his life in a manner pleasing to his Lord. He, therefore, asks of God to give him the urge to pursue his life. This is his primary prayer. He asks of his Lord to show and keep him to the path which is straight, the path trodden by those with whom God was always pleased. That is his concept of the Straight Path. The path that he wishes to walk on is not the path devised by any particular religious group. The path that he has in view is that Royal Road, the Straight Path, which the founders of all religions and all truthful people have walked on, whatever the age or country they belonged to. In his anxiety to keep to his path, he seeks the protection of God. He wants to be saved from either straying away from that Straight Path or from taking to the paths which wayward people have pursued, and while so wishing, he does not refer to the communities or religious groups to which such wayward people have belonged. What he asks for is the privilege to walk on a path which has meant the happiness of all mankind, and not on a path which has led to their ruin.

Think over, What type of mind does this all argue or aim to build? Whatever view one may take, this is clear that the mind which the *Surat-ul-Fatiha* depicts is a type of mind which reflects the beauty and mercy of the God of universal compassion. It is in no sense fettered by prejudices of race or nation or other exclusive groupings. It is a mind imbued with universal humanism. This is the true spirit of the Quranic invitation.



# *Tazkirah*

## **A Narrative**

**“If there are any who raced along a straight path, I would call them fortunate, but I do not consider it a misfortune that I had to extricate my feet from many quicksands, to save my clothes from being torn by thorns, that I had to break the chains which I myself had forged, that I had to destroy with my own hands the lengthy chronicle of my impulses, my longings, my hopes and my yearnings in order to find rest and peace in the place where I now am...”**

## *Tazkirah* \*

I, who am a homeless wanderer, a stranger to my times and to myself, nourished on wounded sentiments, filled with the fullness of longing, a wreck of unfulfilled desires, named Ahmad, and called Abul Kalam, was born in 1888 (1305 A.H.), coming into a world whose existence is a presumption, from a non-existence that has the semblance of reality, and became exposed to the allegation of being alive.

There was an uproar, and in the sleep of non-existence we opened our eyes. But when we saw that the night of chaos was not over, we dozed off again.

My father gave me the chronogrammatic name of Firoze Bakht, “of exalted destiny...”

Gracious God, what exaltedness of fate, what loftiness of destiny! I have spent half of my life slipping off from the path of righteousness, stumbling and weary. What I supposed to be the other half is now passing away while I halt and rest. I have no intimation of the goal, nor do I see my feet on the way that could lead to the goal. When my feet were swift and my courage was youthful, the gateway of adventure and of search for my destiny remained closed. Now when I am footsore, my body is bruised, I cannot walk with confidence, my courage fails me, yearning for the goal has opened my eyes, and negligence has stirred in its sleep, the journey seems long, and its end lost in obscurity, my wallet is empty and the means I need are no longer there. The time for doing things is gone, and every moment I am oppressed with the feeling of having strayed far away from the caravan that I wished to join. I am dejected and I despair of ever attaining the goal. Now, even if my feet recover their swiftness and my courage is

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\* Maulana wrote *Tazkirah* while he was interned at Ranchi during the years 1916-1919, at the insistence of a friend, Fazluddin Ahmed. This was supposed to be an autobiography but it is only in the last few pages that Maulana wrote about himself. This selection is from the autobiographical portion of *Tazkirah* which is considered the most candid account he ever wrote about his intensely personal experiences. This translation is from “*Tazkirah: A Biography in Symbols*” by Mohammad Mujeeb in *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: A Memorial Volume*, edited by Humayun Kabir.



given a new life, how shall the time I have squandered come back to me? How can the caravan of hope that has already departed return to pick up those left behind because of their heedlessness?

I stepped aside to pull the thorn out of my foot, and the camel (whereon my beloved sat) vanished from sight: because of a moment's carelessness my journey has become longer by a hundred years.

Today or tomorrow, this matter of my exalted fate and lofty destiny will be decided for all time, "On the Day when every countenance will be either bright or black". The real exaltedness is the exaltedness of that occasion, and, in truth, that man alone is fortunate who stands the test of the Day that is coming (the Day of Judgment). If one's lot is "cool breezes and fragrance", "abundance of bliss" and "exaltedness" (terms in which Heaven is referred to in the Quran), then one's destiny is indeed noble and one's fate an enviable fate. But if one is found to have deserved the humiliation and the despair of those "whose faces are stained with dust and whose heads hang with shame," and one is reckoned among "the guilty for whom there are no glad tidings," then there is no hope of any end to grief and lamentation. Even the victories of Alexander and the throne of Jamshed would be no recompense for such a loss.

If I am assured that union with Thee is attainable thereby, I would gamble away my heart and my religion and yet more.

My native city is Delhi...but my mother came from the city built on sacred ground, the city to which the Prophet migrated, the city of his Prophethood, of Revelation (Medina). It is the city to which the worshippers of Love turn. It is the Ka'aba of those who live in ecstasies of prayer.

I have a heart that turns around like the needle of a compass. However I change its position, the needle points always towards the eyebrows of the Beloved.

And what shall I say of my real home? We all, in accordance with the commandment, "Live in this world like birds of passage," travellers and wanderers in this home of homelessness, all passing through existence as members of a caravan that knows not where it goes, but all destined to end up in the final resting-place, the grave. Only, for some it is a place of tribulation, and for some of the fortunate, it is a home of joy.

I was born and spent my childhood in the Barren Valley, near the Ka'aba, in the holy city of Mecca, in the part known as Qidwah, near the Bab-al-Salaam....

Now that the year 1335 A.H. (A.D. 1916) is drawing to a close, the fleeting procession of my years has reached the stage of the thirties... This stage will also pass in the twinkling of an eye, and what the future holds I do not know:

No one tells me where my journey will end: I have traversed wilderness after wilderness, and there are yet more wildernesses to be crossed.

When I look back at the life that is over, it appears to be no more than haze and dust, and the life ahead seems no more than a mirage. My pen is hesitant, my mind overawed by the task of expression and interpretation. If I am to write of what I have felt, of events that have occurred in my life, what am I to say? How can one recount the experiences of a hazy vision or a glorious mirage? Bubbles float on the waters, dust mingles in flight with the wind, storms tear down trees, floods carry away buildings; the spider spends its whole life spinning webs, the nest-adoring bird gathers twigs from the four corners of the earth, the lightning has an affair with the haystack, the fire with straw - if such happenings can be made into biographies, please make them. The story of my life will be of a kind with them, one half the smile of hope, the other half the lamentation of despair.

You have not fallen in love or suffered the agonies of the lover:  
how can one unfold to you the sorrows of separation?

Once I was hope incarnate, now I am the embodiment of despondency.

In brief the story of my eyes and of my heart is this: the heart has  
no rest and the eyes no sleep.

If in spite of this your desire for listening to stories is not satisfied, hear from me how my thirty years have passed. The lightning and the haystack do not together make a story that would take a whole night to tell. A passionate cry and a sigh of sadness are the beginning and end of it all.

My neighbour heard me groan: he said,  
Khaqani is having another night of it.

There was a dawn which faded as we looked  
Like an *'Id* which came in spring time  
And passed away before the spring was over.

There was an evening of sorrow whose darkness submerged every lamp  
of hope that was lit.

Since the flame of my grieving heart was put out, no lamp will  
shed light anywhere.

Or, let us say, there were two days, one of hope, the other of despair, one spent in satisfying the craving to build, the other in sorrowing over the wreck of all that was built; one spent in gathering straw for a nest, the other in shedding endless tears over the handful of ashes that was all the fruit of my labour.

In this garden, where spring and autumn are wrapped together

in an eternal embrace, Time has a wine-cup in its hand and a death's head on its brow.

Abu Talib Kaleem (d. 1652) has written the biography of each one of us in four lines:

This make-believe of being alive did not last more than two days,  
And, Kaleem, how shall I relate how these two days passed:  
One I spent forming attachments with this and that,  
The next in tearing the heart away from all to which it clung.

And, in truth, no matter how long the breathing-space, its coming and going is no different. "They say they had not been there but for an evening or a morning," or "They said, we stayed for a day or about that." (From the account in the Quran of the Men of the Cave, who lived for several generations hidden in a cave, unaware of the passage of time.)

My childhood was a pleasant dream,  
It was a pity indeed that I awoke so soon.

When I opened my eyes, adolescence had already dawned, and every thorn in the wilderness of my world was gay as a flower with the dews of ambition and desire. When I looked at myself, I saw a heart filled with quicksilver instead of blood. When I looked at the world, it seemed as if the illusory morning would have no midday sun to dispel it, and no shadows of failure or despondency would mark its evening. This whole habitation of hope and picture-house of fascination was for me only, for the delight of my eyes and the satisfaction of my heart: every nook and corner, every inch of its expanse lay anxiously in wait for me and my appetites. Whichever way I turned to listen, I heard the same call (to fulfil my heart's desire). Was it the throb of my pleasure-seeking heart that was re-echoed, or was it a melody that life plays on the instruments of our senses to cast on us the spell of youthful heedlessness?...

Heedlessness and inebriation chanted their magic incantations, passion filled the cups, the madness of youth caught me by the hand, and my heart, longing to surrender itself, accepted as its goal the way shown to it by impulses and desires. Commonsense and reason were first disconcerted, but, later, they also beckoned me to come along. There was no way but this, there was no time but this:

Do not be offended, O Saki,  
I am young and the world is young with me...

Whichever way I took, chains and nooses entwined themselves around my feet; whatever refuge I sought was a prison-house of the senses. One could have described it if it were imprisonment of one kind only, or count the links if there was only one chain. I had only one heart, but arrows flew at it from a hundred different directions; my one pair of eyes was given a

hundred visions to behold. Each temptation shot its arrow, every thief of the senses flung his noose, every enchanter threw his spell of love, each breath-taking vision sought to captivate me entirely, to put its own halter of fascination around my neck...

It was not that I had been deprived of the power to choose, or that my discerning eye had lost its sight. The lightning winked at me, the stars peeped at me now and then from behind the curtain of night, but they were fitful sparks that could not illumine the mounting darkness or mitigate the black fury of the storm...

When I envied the cypress its graceful stature, my heart was fired with longing for eminence and fame. When I observed the humility of the downtrodden grass, I was ashamed to have deemed myself worthy of aught. When the blowing of the morning breeze refreshed my heart, I was filled with distaste for my seclusion, and yearned for a life of wandering and adventure. Sometimes the sight of a stream flowing where it listed, without thought of aim and purpose, so carried me away that my eyes overflowed with tears and the restrictions and the bondage to which I was subjected were as wounds upon my heart. When I saw the flowers smile, my eyes responded with generous tears. When the trees swayed and the branches danced with ecstasy, I was reminded of my own inertness and lack of feeling. To be brief, there were many reasons for my restlessness, and I had not lost my powers utterly. Lightnings flashed and clouds thundered their warnings. But alas! my sleep, too, was very deep, and my back on which I slept in heedlessness needed the crack of the whip:

It was I who was too weak to utter prayers: the gate of acceptance itself had remained open all the time in expectation and hope.

But it is better for me to declare openly and clearly what I have to say... The cause of our ruin is this: in the tumult caused by self-forgetfulness, the voice of the conscience reaches but a few ears, and if it does, our own hands beat so loudly upon the drums of the intoxicated senses that the feeble voice of admonition is drowned in the noise....

But greater than all the facts and proved realities of the world is this truth:

He that does everything for us looks to our needs:

We bring misery upon ourselves if we worry about our concerns.

And there is a strange diversity and picturesqueness awaiting those who tread this path (of resigning themselves to the Divine Will)...

Although the path is the same for all, the miracles beheld are manifold, and if the senses are lost, it is not because of the same vision:

Thou sharest a different secret with each heart,

And each beggar at thy door puts on airs of his own.

One knocks and the door is not opened to him, another flees and nooses

are thrown to catch him. There is no denying the principle of search and effort, but if He chooses to give without being asked, who is there to hold His hand?...

All at once the grace of God appeared in the form of profane love, and the meandering paths of pleasure brought me, on their own, to the highway of Love. When fire starts, the flames increase by degrees, floods when they come, spread by and by. But this was lightning, it appeared in a flash, and when I looked there was only a heap of ashes...

In reality there are three stages: desire, love, truth.... What I mean by love here is love in the narrow, impure, physical sense, not the absolute Love which embraces all creation. There is nothing but Love in the whole Universe. It is the pillar upholding the heavens, the support and axis of the earth. All that is visible is Love, all that is hidden is Love. Our vision is to blame if, unable to perceive Unity, it has given many names to the one Reality. It is this inability to see things as they are, this lapse into multiplicity, that has thrown veil upon veil on the unique Oneness of Beauty. Otherwise,

There is only one lamp in this house around the light of which  
Whenever you look, people are gathered together in converse.

No doubt this (love of mine) was also a lapse. But what shall we say of a lapse that casts us on the feet of the Beloved? The end of all effort is to reach Him. If lapses and intoxication lead us there, why should not a thousand forms of constancy and sobriety be offered up on their altar?

If the Lord desires me to be avaricious,  
May all contentment be consigned to oblivion.

The truth is that fulfilment for those who follow this path depends entirely on meeting and parting, or breaking and joining, and nearness is a stage that can be attained only when remoteness has been endured. That is, parting with all to be with One, cutting oneself off from all to join One. This door will open only when all the others that had been open before are closed:

One is acceptable in the eyes of Love only when a thousand  
conditions have been fulfilled

And the first is remorse for any peace and contentment ever enjoyed.

The thing to do is to break all attachments and snap all the chains that bind one to the worship of things other than God. There are only two ways in which this can happen: either a powerful Hand resolved on removing obstacles unties all knots one by one, unfastens all chains, link by link; or else a sword flashes, and, in the twinkling of an eye, smiting with full force, shatters all bonds and chains. There is no obligation, then, to the deft finger untying knots, no counting of broken links. To burn a block of dry wood, one has to do a thousand things, and then only does a little smoke rise. But



we know that lightning can, with a single flash of its eye, consume a thousand nests, a thousand heaps of carefully collected grain:

I asked, how do you kill and restore to life?

The Beloved killed me with a glance, and gave no further answer.

Sacred and profane love have this in common: they attach to one and detach from the rest. That is why the nearest way to sacred love is through profane love.

Our cup mellows the wine that is new.

It is not so in pleasure-seeking and love only. Any half-way house from which the feet refuse to go further, becomes an idol, and the traveller an idol worshipper. The half-way house may be that of counting the beads of the rosary (of orthodox piety) or wearing the patchwork garment (of the Sufi)...

So I thank God that this stage (of profane love) was not one where I tarried for long. In a year and five months I became versed in all its usages and conventions, leaving no nook, no corner, unseen... Each traveller (on this way of profane love) has to adopt one of two methods; either the boisterousness and aimless wandering of the "tuti" (a singing bird) and the nightingale, or the silent burning of the candle... We know that it is easier to flare up like a flame than to glow with a contained heat like the oven and fulfil all the requirements and conventions of restraint and self-possession.

Nakedness is pleasant, but the torn neck-band and the tattered lapel  
Have a charm all their own...

If there have been people who spent their lives wailing and crying in the wilderness, they did what they did. In my life every minute, every hour has been spent in an agony of suppressed sighs that consumed me from within; a thousand tumults have raged within my breast; and tears that did not find the expanse of the eyes raised storms within the narrow confines of my heart.

Though in appearance this affair (of profane love) ended tragically, in reality all the joy of victory lay hidden in this defeat..

The miracle of Allah's Mercy was beckoning me for a long time, but my heart was unheeding, having been immersed in carnal pleasures. Unrequited love struck the last blow to my illusions and all of a sudden my eyes were opened. What I saw was a breath-taking spectacle of another world. Not the same sky; not the same earth; not even the same universe. It was not the same individual. The Hand that guided me to this state, was nowhere to be seen. When I searched for it, it was gone. As if it was a lamp that lit the way so long as I had to walk in the dark cover of the night; but when morning dawned, there was no need, so it was extinguished.

The world in whose tavern of oblivion the wine of heedlessness had been poured into me, whose visions tempted my eyes, whose melodies charmed my ears; that same world so transformed itself now that every little

bit of it was a picture of sobriety and wisdom, a lesson for the seeing eye and for the knowing mind. Every particle was eager for converse, every leaf was a document, flowers opened their lips, stones raised themselves to beckon, the downtrodden dust rose again and again to shower itself down like pearls, the heavens descended to answer questions, the earth had to be tossed up often so that stars may be plucked from the sky, angels held both arms in case the step faltered, the sun came with a lamp to save from stumbling, all veils were thrown off, all curtains were riddled with holes; every eyebrow gave a message, every eye had stories to tell...

In whatever condition I lived I was always repelled by imperfection and incompetence. I always refrained from treading the path of others. Wherever I was and whatever I did, I was never guided by the footprints of others; on the contrary, I chartered my own course and I left my footprints for others to follow. In a state of gay abandon, I drained the cup of pleasure; when I lost myself in the tangles of love, there was no vale of tears that I did not traverse and there was no extent of pain that I did not experience. What needed years to accomplish, was done in a few moments. The business of love was multitudinous, yet look at the poet Mir, he went through all this in no time!

*Kaam they ishq men bahut par Mir  
Hum to farigh huey shitabi sey.*

There were lot of things to do in love, O Mir!  
We got through it all in a hurry.

Whatever be the existing state of my being, I have the same desire to attain excellence and the same restlessness to accomplish a given task. And I have entrusted the whole matter to that Mysterious Being who is omnipotent. He placed a jewel in my path, but never entangled me in its search.\*

Whatever the situation may have been originally, it was altogether different from what I attained to gradually. Apart from this particular aspect, there is nothing in my beliefs, my actions, my habits and inclinations, my ideas and views, my ways which I can correlate with my natural surroundings... Whatever I have was granted to me by Love, the sovereign giver; in whatever ways I have been guided to the right path, it was because of this master and bestower of blessings, this leader of the way.

It (Love) opened the door of learning, it taught me the truth of action, it had the books of divine wisdom on the tip of its tongue, the treasures of true knowledge were held in its generous hands. It taught me the profundities of the *Shariah* (the Law), it guided me across the hills and valleys of the *Tariqah* (Sufism), it revealed the secrets of the Quran, and initiated me into the mysteries of the *Sunnah* (Acts and sayings of the Prophet), it gave

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\* Two paragraphs, above, added by the editor to the Mujeeb translation from the original text.



me vision, it bestowed on me a sensitive heart. What problems did it not solve, what tangles did its eyes not unravel, what ailment of head and heart did it not cure?...

But this I would say, that if there is anyone who is proud of having from the very first been pious and pure, then I, too, would affirm that I do not regret the gaiety, the pleasure-seeking, the indulgence from which in my twenty-first and twenty-second year (the real season of the madness of youth), I squeezed out all that could be got without leaving a drop of juice behind. (If there are any who have raced along on a straight path, I would call them fortunate, but I do not consider it a misfortune that I had to extricate my feet from many quicksands, to save my clothes from being torn by thorns, that I had to break the chains which I myself had forged, that I had to destroy with my own hands the lengthy chronicle of my impulses, my longings, my hopes and my yearnings in order to find rest and peace in the place where I now am...]

## ***Ghubar-i-Khatir***

### **The Soul Unburdened**

#### **On His Wife's Illness and Death**

“All she said were two words, *Khuda Hafiz*. She could not have said more than what the silent anguish on her face was conveying. Her eyes were dry but her expression was tear-drenched.”

## On His Wife's Illness and Death\*

Ahmednagar Fort  
April 11, 1943

My esteemed Friend,

This is not the usual morning hour of 4 a.m. The late hours of night have just begun. I went to bed at ten as usual, but could not fall asleep. Got up, came to the other room, and, switching on the light engrossed myself in my usual activities. Then I thought why not pick up my pen, communicate with you and lighten the burden on my heart? During the last eight months of imprisonment, this is the sixth such night, and I don't know how many more there will be.

My wife had been ailing for the last few years. In 1941, when I was interned in the Naini Jail, I was not informed of her illness in case I got anxious. On my release, I learnt that not during this entire period, she had remained, more or less, indisposed. I used to get her letters in the prison. She wrote about everything except her illness. After my release, the doctors advised her a change of environment. Everyone suggested Ranchi; her stay there seemed to have restored her. When she returned home in July, the glow of health had started appearing on her face.

All this time, I was mostly travelling. Circumstances were changing so rapidly that I did not have time to spend a few days at any given place. No sooner had I reached one destination, another beckoned me.

At the end of July after an absence of three weeks I reached Calcutta. Four days later I left for the All India Congress Committee Session in Bombay. At that time the storm had not begun but its indications were darkening the horizon. Rumours about the government's intentions were doing the rounds. Particularly rampant was the rumour that after the All

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\* Zuleikha Begum died on April 9, 1943. Maulana described his feelings to his friend Nawab Sadr Yar Jung, in the above letter. This is one of twenty letters from Ahmednagar Prison which were written between 10 August, 1942 and 16 September, 1943. Maulana's secretary Mohammad Ajmal Khan, collected them, and, along with a few other letters from Maulana to Nawab Sadr Yar Jung, published an epistolary collection in 1946, entitled *Ghubar-i-Khatir*.

India Congress Committee meeting, all members of the Working Committee would be arrested and deported to an unknown place abroad\*. It was also stated that the war conditions had given government extraordinary powers, which may be used for any purpose.

Zuleikha had a keener eye than mine for assessing the fallout of such events. During those four days wedged between the two journeys that I spent at home, I was so preoccupied with my engagements that I had little time for her. She understood my temperament that in such circumstances I became more reticent than ever and did not like incursions into my privacy. Therefore, she too, kept silent. Our silences, however, were not devoid of communication. Even through our silences, we listened to and understood each other. On August 3, when I was leaving for Bombay, she, as usual, came to the entrance to say *Khuda Hafiz* to me.

I told her that if nothing unusual occurs, I would return by August 13th. All she said were two words, *Khuda Hafiz*. She could not have said more than what the silent anguish on her face was conveying. Her eyes were dry but her expression was tear-drenched.

During the last twenty-five years how many times had I travelled and been arrested, but never did I see her so depressed. Had she given in to the momentary onslaught of emotions? At that time this is what I understood from her expression. Now that I think back, I feel that she had sensed the situation. Perhaps, she knew that this was to be our last meeting... in this life at least. She was saying *Khuda Hafiz* not because I was travelling but because she was going on a longer journey.

How well she understood me. She knew that if she betrayed her emotional distress at a moment like this, I would loath it and its bitterness would poison our relationship for a long time. In 1916, When I was arrested for the first time, she had not been able to restrain her anguish. For this, I remained displeased with her for several days. This incident had changed her way of life forever and she always tried to gracefully compromise with the conditions of my life. She not only stood by me, but, with courage and steadfastness endured all my adverse circumstances. Mentally, she shared my ideas and beliefs: in our day to day life, she was my companion and friend.

After our internment, for a while we were not permitted to communicate with our relatives. When the ban was lifted, I received her first letter on 17th September. After that the letters came in at regular intervals. Since I knew that she would not like to add to my worries by writing about her

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\* From the statements published in the newspapers after our arrest, it appears the rumours were not baseless. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy wanted us to be deported to West Africa. Arrangements had been made for this purpose. Later, their opinion changed and, finally, it was decided that we would be interned at Ahmednagar Fort under military supervision and under such strict regulations that the purpose of sending us abroad would be achieved right here.

illness, I used to enquire about her health from relatives. Letters usually took ten to twelve days to reach; therefore, it was impossible to keep abreast of events. On 15 February, I received a letter dated 2nd February, saying that she was not well. I sent a message via telegram, and, in a week got a reply that there was nothing to worry about.

On 23 March, I received the first intimation of her serious condition. Bombay sent a telegram informing the superintendent that a telegraphic message had been received from Calcutta. I don't know, how much time had elapsed between the communication from Calcutta to Bombay, and from Bombay to the superintendent. Finally, how long had it taken them to decide to inform me?

Since the location of our internment had been kept secret, neither could a telegram be sent nor could one be received here. If a wire was sent through the telegraph office, it could not remain secret from the office staff. As a result of this restriction, nothing howsoever urgent, could pass back or forth. To send a telegram, the written message had to be given to the superintendent. He would then post it to Bombay, and from there, after scrutiny, it could have been sent further. With regard to censorship of the mail, the internment were classified into two categories. For some, the Bombay censorship was enough. For others it was necessary that all their mail be routed through Delhi, and until it got cleared from there, it could not be forwarded. Since my mail fell in the second category, I could not receive a telegram in less than a week nor could mine reach Calcutta in less than seven days.

The telegram that I received on 23 March, was sent in military code. The superintendent was unable to decipher it, he took it to the Military Head-quarters. Since no one was available there, it took him the whole day trying to decode it. I could get a readable copy only at night.

Next day, the newspapers carried the news. They reported that the doctors had informed the government of her condition and were awaiting its reply. A daily bulletin on her condition started appearing in the newspapers. The superintendent used to hear it on the radio and convey it to a few of my colleagues.

A day after I had received the telegram, the superintendent came to me and said that if I wished to make a submission to the government in this regard, he would immediately forward it to Bombay, and that it would not be subjected to the restrictions and the normal procedures followed here. He was sensitive to the situation and assured me of his sympathies. I was straightforward in my stand that I did not want to make any appeal to the government. He, then, spoke to Jawaharlal. That afternoon, Jawaharlal had a long talk with me. I told him precisely what I had told the superintendent. Later, I found out that the superintendent had spoken at the instance of the Government of Bombay.

As soon as I received the first news of her critical state, I started to

probe my heart. How strange is human nature! We spend our lives trying to comprehend it, yet the mystery continues unabated. From the beginning, my circumstances had been such that I had to use self-restraint and self-control; so far as was possible I never allowed myself to get carried away. Yet I felt that my peace had been shattered and I had to struggle to restrain my emotions. This struggle exhausts the body; one starts disintegrating from within.

I don't want to conceal my state of heart and mind during those days. I tried to endure my pain with patience and forbearance. Superficially, I seemed to succeed, but, perhaps, internally I felt broken. I realised that my mind had started playing the usual games of affectation and duplicity that we find ourselves resorting to, when we want to prevent our inner feelings from showing through.

My first effort was not to let the daily routine that was followed here, be affected. Four times in a day I had to come out of my room and go to the end of the row for meals and tea. Since I am used to computing, by the minute, the daily chores, this habit persisted and my associates, too, had to adhere to it. Even during this period I kept my usual routine. I would come out of my room at the appointed hour and sit at the dining-table. Although I had no appetite, yet I would force a few morsels down my throat. The post-dinner session with friends remained unaffected. The time I used to spend talking with them, the way we talked, and the topics of conversation all went as before.

Newspapers reach here between twelve noon and one. On the other side of my room is the office of the superintendent. From there the jailor brings the newspapers to my room. As soon as I used to hear his footsteps my heart started pounding with apprehension. But I composed myself. My sofa is backed up against the door, therefore, unless the person comes around and stands before me he cannot see my face. When the jailor entered, I beckoned him with a smile, and asked that he place the papers on the table as if I was in no hurry to look. I confess all this was affectation and hypocrisy of a proud temperament. All I wished was to keep my dignity and forbearance free from the tarnish of anguish and despair.

At last, on April 9, the goblet of my pain brimmed over.

At 2 p.m. the superintendent handed me the telegram from Bombay. Later, I learnt that the superintendent had heard it on the morning news and had conveyed it to a few of my colleagues. I was not informed. I am grateful to my companions for their conduct during this period. At the beginning when we started receiving news of her illness, they were, naturally, concerned. They wanted to do whatever they could in this regard. But when they realised that I had decided not to make any appeal to the government, they too, kept quiet. This way, there was no interference in my chosen line of action.

Thus ended twenty-six years of our married life. Death stood like a wall



between us. We could still see each other but from either side of this wall.

During these few days, I have had to travel the path that usually takes years to cross. My resolve is still firm, but the strain of the journey has drained all sensation from my legs.

There is an old tomb on these premises. I don't know whose it is. Since my arrival I had glanced at it a hundred times. But now I feel a new affinity with it. Last evening, I looked at it for a long time.

Now I must still my pen. Had you been listening, you would have said:

*Sauda, Khuda ke waste kar qissa mukhtasar  
Apni to neend ur gai tere fasane mein.*

For Godsake, shorten your tale, O Sauda!  
Your tale has blown away my sleep.

***Ghubar-i-Khatir***

## **The Soul Unburdened**

### **The Pleasures of Tea and Prison Life**

**“Every link in this chain is forged with the alchemy of a sip of tea and a drag on the cigarette, and this process goes on and on. Just think of the beauty of consuming the two in exact proportions, to create the balance that the last sip of tea coincides with the end of the tobacco in the last glow of my cigarette.”**

## The Pleasures of Tea and Prison Life\*

Ahmednagar Fort  
17 December, 1943<sup>1</sup>

Dear Friend,

It is the same time of the morning, but alas! the tea that used to titillate my senses and relieve my anxious mind, is no more.

*Phir dekhiye andaz-e-gul afshani-e-guftar  
Rakh de koi paimana-o-sehba mere agey.*

Just see my speech sparkling with adornment  
If only a decanter and glass were placed by my side!

The Chinese tea which I love has run out, and no one in the markets of Ahmednagar and Poona knows anything about this superior quality of tea.

In this market-place of profit and loss there is no happiness *sans* pain. Here no peg of wine was ever filled which did not contain dregs of impurity. Heady wine of success is always followed by a hangover of failure, and laughter of spring is followed by tears of autumn. Abul Fazal has rightly observed:

No sooner was a glass of wine filled than it was drained;  
No sooner was a page read than it was turned over.

I do not know if you have ever paid attention to the intricacy and mystery of this process. How should I describe my condition? The fact is that I have never conformed to common usage in this as in other matters of import. I have always mourned over the vicissitudes of this world.

On the subject of tea, my difference of opinion with others is not only

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\* In several letters to his friend Nawab Sadr Yar Jung, Maulana wrote about the pleasures of drinking tea. Often in the same letters he would describe the pleasure he derived even from life in prison. The first is a purely sensual pleasure, the second a mental-philosophic pleasure. The above extracts are taken from three letters in *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, referred to in footnotes 1,2,3.

<sup>1</sup> *Ghubar-i-Khatir*; pp.189-91.

in respect of its branches and leaves, for in that case there could have been a way of resolving it. My difference is basic, not incidental. It is a difference of kind and not of degree.

The first question about tea relates to its intrinsic value. I drink tea for its own sake; while people drink it for the milk and sugar. For me it is an end in itself; whereas, for others, it is a means to an end. Think about it; I am moving in one direction, while the world is moving in another.

Tea was born in China, and, according to the Chinese, it has been in use for fifteen hundred years. There, it did not occur to any one that its purity should be corrupted by use of milk. In all the countries to which tea has gone directly from China, i.e. Russia, Turkestan, Iran, it did not strike any one to use tea with milk. But in the 17th century, when the English discovered tea, I do not know what possessed them. They introduced the abominable practice of adding milk. This practice was subsequently introduced in India. Gradually, the practice degenerated to the extent that people started pouring tea in milk, instead of pouring milk in tea! It is said, "An evil thing in this world has a small beginning." The English relinquished their responsibility by suggesting that the amount of milk added should be kept to a minimum. But the evil seed which they had then planted, has now burgeoned. Now people make a liquid pudding instead of tea and instead of eating it, they drink the gooey mixture:

*Hai kumbakht tu ne pi hi nahin!*

You fool! Not knowing the taste of wine.

The cup of tea is very fragrant, one of the best varieties of Chinese tea!<sup>2</sup> Its colour is so light that its very existence seems doubtful. In the words of Abu Niwas,

The bottle is transparent, so also the wine.

Both look alike, undistinguishable from each other.

Its flavour is so strong that, without exaggeration, every cup reminds me of Qaani's goblet of the most potent wine.

Perhaps you do not know that I have my own tea ceremony! I have tried to develop a delightful combination of the flavour and fragrance of tea, with the strong and bitter taste of tobacco. With the first sip of tea I generally light a cigarette. Then I follow the ritual of sipping tea after short pauses, and, simultaneously, taking a deep pull at my cigarette. The learned would call this process, "a constant and continuous chain of action". Every link in this chain is forged with the alchemy of a sip of tea and a drag on the cigarette, and this process goes on and on. Just think of the beauty of consuming the two in exact proportions, to create the

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from letter dated 3 August, 1942, Maulana wrote this letter on the train to Bombay. The letter could not be sent to the addressee because Maulana was arrested 6 days later, on 9 August, 1942. *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, pp.36-39.

balance that the last sip of tea coincides with the end of the tobacco in the last glow of my cigarette. How can I explain what state of pleasurable intoxication I reach in this compound of two elements, one light and the other strong?

You may say that the habit of drinking tea is itself an addiction; why should other addictions be added to it? In matters such as this, the permutation and combination, adding one addiction to another, revives the old story of wine and its antidote. I admit that all these addictions could be added to the category of sins. In this regard, how should I explain my rationale to you? Perhaps by saying, that whenever I have thought about this subject, I have not been able to accept the adage that life should be totally free of sins. It seems that in this misbegotten world one must commit a few sins so that life becomes worth living. Think for a moment. If one cannot dampen one's parched cloak with the wine of sins what would life be worth? Where is the fun in following the straight and narrow path? It is the faltering step which makes it worth our while. You will agree with the sentiments of the poet-seer of Shiraz:

Come! The glitter of this world is undiminished  
By piety, such as yours, or depravity such as mine  
*Hafiz*

You may well ask, what is the standard for judging one's deeds if sins do not tempt? The answer would be the same as has always been given by mystics:

Give up everything and yet know everything.

In other words, denial and indulgence should so govern one's actions that even when one commits sins, one does not become totally immersed in them. On this path, one should not become entangled in the thorns. Extricate and move on. It is not necessary to keep one's cloak gathered up for fear of getting it wet. If it gets wet, by all means, let it. But there should be enough strength in your arms that whenever you wish, you can squeeze out the very last drop, so not even a trace of dampness remains:

*Tar damni pe Shaikh hamari na jaeeye  
Daman nichor den to farishtey wuzu karen.*

O Shaikh! Do not get misled by my wet garments.  
If I squeeze my cloak, the angels would perform ablutions.

I have structured my life in the prison around two contradictory systems of philosophy, stoicism and epicureanism.<sup>3</sup> So far as the unpleasant things of life are concerned, I dress my wounds with stoicism and try to forget their sting. Where good things of life are concerned, I take an epicurean view and keep myself happy. I mix my cocktail with the contents of the

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<sup>3</sup> Extracts from letter dated 27 August, 1942. *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, pp.97-103.

bottles of stoicism and epicureanism. Without this mixture my thirst does not get slaked. This recipe may not do for a novice. Only a connoisseur can put it to use. Those who have tasted vermouth mixed with gin cannot resist this highly potent drink.

You will say that life in the prison is suitable for stoicism, since it makes one impervious to joys and sorrows; but where is the opportunity to enjoy epicurean pleasures in prison? How can those unfortunate ones who denied themselves the joys of living even while they lived in the free world, ever find any pleasure in the life of deprivation inside the prison? I want to remind you that real joy lies in the mind, and not the body. Dagh wanted the tongue of the preacher:

*Mile jo hashr mein ley loon zuban nasih ki  
Ajeeb cheez hai yeh tool-e-muddua ke liye.*

On doomsday, I would borrow the preacher's tongue!  
It is wonderful instrument for stating one's desire at length.

On deeper reflection, isn't it strange that we look for the sources of joy outside ourselves? If we lift the veil of illusion, we would clearly see that happiness is not external, it is right within us. The gardens of delight that we search for, and do not find, always bloom within the recesses of our own hearts. But the real tragedy is that we know plenty about things external, but next to nothing about things inside ourselves.

*Kahin tujh ko na paya garche ham ne ek jahan dhoonda  
Phir aakhir dil hi mein paya, baghal hi mein se tu nikla.*

We did not find you anywhere, although we searched  
the world over,  
Finally we found you at our elbow, within our own heart.

The peacock of the forest does not search for a garden for its dance; it carries its own garden along with it; wherever it spreads its wings, it creates a garden of myriad colours.

Everyday the sun shines inside the four walls of the prison. Moonbeams make no distinction between a prisoner and a free person. In dark nights, star-torches in the sky not only brighten the world outside the prison walls, their radiance creates bright pools of light around the prisoners as well. When the day spreads sunshine, its benedictions are not exclusive, only for those living in pleasure-houses. The visual feast is equally displayed to those peering from holes in the walls of the prison-house. Nature, unlike man, never makes favourites while bestowing her favours. When she lifts the veil from her face, she invites one and all to savour her beauty. It is we who are to blame, never glancing at the breath-taking vision presented by Nature, always immersed in our own business!



Here, where morning smiles its greetings everyday, where evening comes concealed in the veil of night, where night is heralded by the torches of stars, where moonbeams illumine every humble corner, where birds sing at dawn and dusk; how can we honestly say that it is empty of all pleasures because it is a prison? Pleasures abound here also. They cannot be cribbed and confined to selected parts of the world.

If there are no palaces or mansions, we may as well sit beneath the shade of a tree. If carpets of silk and velvet are not available, we may use the grassy meadows. If electric lights are not affordable, who can extinguish the torches in the sky? If all the artificial lighting devices vanish, nothing is lost. The sun will still rise at dawn, the moon will continue to brighten the world. But if our live, throbbing heart ceases to palpitate, then where will we find its substitute? Which live coal shall we use to fill the gaping hole in which the heart was ensconced:

*Mujhe ye dar hai dil-e-zinda tu na mar jaae  
Ke zindgani ibarat hai tere jeene se.*

O living heart! I have fears that you may die,  
For life is meaningful only so long as you live!

Shall I tell you the secret of my success? I do not allow my heart to whither away. Whatever the place, whatever the state of my mind, my heart continues to agitate. I know that all the joys of life and all the beauties of the world are due to this tavern of solitude. If it becomes desolate, the whole world would turn into a wasteland. Even if I am deprived of all external means of pleasure, I know that so long as my heart remains intact, no one can deprive me of the joy of living.

You know my routine. I generally wake up between three and four in the morning. I treat my successive cups of tea as cups of wine, the *Finjan* being the *Subuhi* and the cup being the *Jaam*. Morning is my most enjoyable time. For the intoxication, thus created, makes me forget my surroundings. Another world opens before me. There is no one here who gets up with sleep-laden eyes to make tea and place it before me. So I utilize my own eager hands. Instead of a bottle of old wine, I open a tin of fresh Chinese tea. Then I brew my tea with the dedication of an artist. I keep the teapot and the cup on the right hand side of the table, which is the place of honour! I keep the paper and pen on the left side, for its place is secondary. Then I sit in the chair and go into a trance. Please do not ask me about it. All I can say is that no one would have derived the extent of pleasure and intoxication in the one-hundred-year-old cellars of old wine in Champagne and Bordeaux, that I get from every sip of my morning tea.

You know that I use Russian cups. These are much smaller than the ordinary cups. If one drinks tea crudely from these cups, one can finish the entire cup in two gulps. But how could I be guilty of this lack of taste?

Like old connoisseurs, I drink my tea slowly and gracefully, in very small sips. When the first cup is drained, I wait for a while and extend this gap as much as I can, in order to derive the maximum pleasure out of each cup that follows. I sip the second and third cup, and totally forget the world and all its calculations of profit and loss. At this time when these lines are flowing from my pen effortlessly, I am still in a state of intoxication, and I do not know what has been the state of the world since the morning of August 9th. Frankly, I do not care.

The next delectable time is noon, or more precisely, afternoon. When I get tired after writing at length, I lie down for a while. I get up, take a shower and renew my tea ceremony. Thus having refreshed myself, once again, I get immersed in my work. At that time I relish, to my heart's content, the spotless azure sky and blinding brilliance of the sun, I throw open every door and window of my heart. No matter how dust-covered it is with the worries of the world, but no sooner is it exposed to the sun and sky, it becomes bathed in light and freshness.



## ***Ghubar-i-Khatir***

# **The Soul Unburdened**

### **On Music**

**“During those nights I had specially arranged to go to the Taj with my sitar. There I sat on the moonlit terrace, facing the Jumuna. As the moonlight bathed the monument, I would start a raga on my sitar and become totally engrossed in its melody.”**

## On Music\*

16 September, 1943

These days a police officer has been stationed at the Fort near our quarters. He has a wireless. Occasionally its sounds drift in our direction. Last night the music was very audible. Probably a BBC programme. Some virtuoso on the violin, playing Mendelssohn's famous piece, "Song Without Words". Suddenly a beautiful female voice blended in, with a painful melody. The effect on me was instantaneous, as if a ripe tumour was ready to burst; but this only lasted a few moments. The next instant equilibrium was restored.

Perhaps, you don't know that at one time music had been my passion. It engrossed me for several years. In 1905, when I had completed my studies and started teaching, my love for books often took me to a book-seller, Khuda Bakhsh, whose shop was located on Wellesely Street in front of the Madarsa. He dealt mostly in Arabic and Persian manuscripts. One day, he showed me a beautifully calligraphed and illustrated copy of Faquirullah Saif Khan's *Raag Darpan*, and said that subject of the book was music. Saif Khan belonged to the nobility during Aurangzeb's reign and was adept in the art and craft of Indian music. He translated a Sanskrit text into Persian that became famous as *Raag Darpan*. The copy that Khuda Bakhsh had acquired, originally belonged to the collection of Nasir Jung Shaheed, the son of Asif Jah, and was very diligently compiled. I was looking through its preface when Mr. Danson Ross arrived. He was then the Principal of Madarsa Aliya, and was proficient in Persian spoken in the Iranian accent. Surprised to see a teenage boy engrossed in the study of a Persian manuscript, he spoke to me in Persian. "Who is the author of this book?" I replied that the book was by Saif Khan on the art of music. He took the book from me and started looking through it. He remarked that the Indian system of music was a very complicated art. Could I comprehend the contents of this book? I said, "When a book is written, it is written solely with the intention that people should read and understand it. If I read it I would grasp its content." He

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\* This is a selection from the longest letter in *Ghubair-i-Khatir* about the history and art of music, written by Azad to Nawab Sadr Yar Jung, from the Ahmednagar prison.

said with a smile, "You cannot grasp it; if you do, then explain to me the substance of this page." The page that he indicated described some classifications of the ragas. I read the terms but could not comprehend their connotations. Shame-faced, I kept quiet. Finally, I conceded that I could not explain to him the substance right there and then, but would be able to do so after a careful study.

I read the book from beginning to end, but realised that unless one masters the terminology of music and learns its elements from an expert, one cannot understand the contents of the book. Since my student days I had noticed that I could grasp the substance of a book, leading towards a perfect understanding, just by scanning its pages. Now I was faced with an obstacle, which greatly agitated me. I thought of soliciting the help of somebody who knew music. But who could help? Family circumstances were such that it was unlikely for me to encounter anyone adept in this art. Masita Khan suddenly came to mind. He was the only practitioner in music, who had access to our house.

Masita Khan's story is worth recalling. He came from Sonapat in the Ambala district, and belonged to family of professional singers. He learnt music from the teachers of the Delhi and Jaipur Gharanas. He gave singing lessons to the dancing girls of Calcutta. In the words of the poet:

*Taqrib kuchh to behr-i-mulaqat chahiye!*

Ah! but there must be an excuse for meeting.

He used to visit my father in hope of becoming his disciple. As a rule, my father did not administer the oath of *muridi* to such people, but he did not deny them the privilege of reform and correction. To such people, he would say, "Keep coming without expecting *muridi*. Then accept whatever is God's will." In most cases, people, on their own, gave up their undesirable vocations and repented. Masita Khan, too, got this advice from my father.

After delivering his Friday sermon, my father used to sit for a while in the drawing room before going to his inner chamber. Some of his favoured disciples used to walk down with his palanquin to our place. There they would present their petitions to him. Masita Khan, too, came home every Friday after the sermon, and stood respectfully in one corner, with folded hands. Sometimes, when my father noticed him, he would ask, "Masita Khan, how are you?" He would reply, "I hope to get your kind attention." My father would say, "Well, let there be an honest longing in your heart." Overjoyed, Masita would prostrate himself at my father's feet and drench them with tears. How beautifully Zauq has written:

*Hue hain tar girya-i-nidamat se is quadar aastin-o-daaman  
Ke meri tmar daamani ke aage arq arq paak daamani hai.*

Tears of repentance have so drenched my sleeve and cloak



That the pious robe is drenched in shame before my penitent libations.

Sometimes, he would say, "May I please be allowed to attend the evening assembly?" He was referring to the special evening congregation that was held once a week for the benefit of his disciples. My father used to reject his request, but do so with deep human understanding. "Very well", he would say, "But wait; every thing will come about at its proper time." These words were enough to overwhelm his devoted disciple. He would leave with tears of gratitude in his eyes.

His deep devotion and honest quest was ultimately rewarded. My father accepted him as his disciple and even allowed him to attend his discourses. He was so gratified that he gave up teaching the dancing girls, and contented himself with serving a Bengali Zamindar. I have heard my father once say of Masita Khan, "Whenever I see Masita Khan, I am reminded of Pir Changi, the Pir Changi of Maulana Rumi."

Anyway, it was this same Masita Khan I thought of. I took him into confidence on the matter of music. It astonished him a little but as he began to understand my need, he felt flattered by the attention he was receiving from a Pirzada. The problem now was, where? At home, where people read *Hidaiya* and *Mushkawat*, there was no scope for lessons in *sar-re-ga-ma*. Going outside would have roused immense suspicion. One solution emerged which entailed a confidential arrangement. Our sessions were to be held at his home. At the beginning we fixed three days a week, later I started going there every afternoon. Masita Khan used to reach there before me and our music practice sessions went on for two to three hours.

Masita Khan knew only one method of instruction, which is usual with all teachers of this art. He tried to use it on me, but I stopped him and tried to educate myself in my own way. Among all the musical instruments, sitar attracted me the most, and soon my fingers got accustomed to its strings. Now that I think of it I long for those tempestuous music-filled afternoons which reflected the secret longings of my heart. I was no more than seventeen years old, but even at that time I was very particular that whatever field I chose for myself I stepped into it with determination, and proceeded as far as the road led. Whatever the task, I was never content to leave it half way. Whichever alley I entered, I never left before I had walked its length and breadth. When I was on the path of *savab* (piety) it was with complete sincerity. When I sinned, that, too, was a whole-hearted act. When I kept company with the epicureans, I led the flock. When I travelled with the celibate, I did not lag behind. When I arrived, it was not an apologetic arrival; and when I befriended anyone, it was none but those who were masters in the field.

Thus, when I stepped into the musical world, I explored it as long as I could. For four or five years I practised on the sitar. And not only that

My fingers slowly attained familiarity with the notes hidden in the flute. But it was not long before I lost interest in this art. Then came a time when I gave up this interest altogether, and now it is no more than a memory of bygone days. The marks of the *mizraab*, however, remained on my fingers for a long time!

*Ab jis jagah ke dagh hai, yan pehle dard tha.*

This was the place of pain, where the bruise is visible now.

In this world of sight and sound, one course to follow is that of the honeybee: it sits on the honey, never to get up again:

*Ke paon tor ke baithe hain pae-band tere*

Your prisoners sit at your door, having broken their legs.

The other one is that of the butterfly which sits on every flower, enjoys its fragrance and flies away:

*Tuk dekh liya, dil shaad kiya, khush kaam kiya aur chal nikley.*

Glanced, gladdened, tasted, and drifted away.

So, this too, was another flower in the many-splendoured garden of my life. I stopped here for a while, enjoyed its fragrance and moved on. The purpose of my interest was that I should not remain unfamiliar with this aspect of life. I believe that one cannot achieve a mental equilibrium and develop an aesthetic temperament without understanding music. When I had achieved my purpose, the continuation of music not only became unnecessary but had the potential of becoming an obstacle to other occupations. The taste for music has, however, become entrenched in my heart and I can never extricate it from my system.

*Jaati hai koi kashmakash andoh-e-Ishq ki*

*Dil bhi agar gaya to wohi dil ka dard tha.*

Is one ever rid of the agony of love?

Even if the heart is lost, the pain lingers on.

Beauty, whether in sound, or in a face, whether in the Taj Mahal, or Nishat Bagh, beauty is beauty...and it has its natural demands. Pity that miserable soul whose insensitive heart did not learn how to respond to the call of beauty!

Should I tell you something? I have often groped my own heart. I can live happily without anything, but not without music! This pleasant sound is the acme of my days, remedy for my mental tensions and the cure for all ills of the body. If you want to deprive me of the few pleasures that are left in my life, deprive me of music and you will have served your purpose. Here, in the Ahmednagar prison, if I miss anything in the evenings it is my radio.

During the days when I was practising music, I experienced some of the most poignant moments of my life. Though they were momentary experiences, they left an indelible mark upon me. One such moment occurred during my visit to Agra. It was the month of April and nights of the waning moon. During the last phase of the night the moon would appear from behind the night's dense veil. During those nights I had specially arranged to go to the Taj with my sitar. There I sat on the moonlit terrace, facing the Jumuna.

As the moonlight bathed the monument, I would start a raga on my sitar and become totally engrossed in its melody. How should I express what fantastic sights and sounds used to dance before my eyes? Dead of night, shimmering stars, waning moon, dampness of April, the minarets of the Taj raising their heads. All around me, the arches sat holding their breath, and, in the middle, the moonlit silver dome sat motionless on its base. The silver waves of the Jamuna lapped at the base, and, above, the innumerable stars looked on with wide-eyed amazement. In this chiaroscuro, a wordless lament emerged from the strings of my sitar and swam effortlessly on the waves of the air. Stars started shooting from the sky and from my bleeding fingers a melody was born.

For sometime, the whole environment remained motionless as if it were listening with all its attention. Then, slowly, very slowly, everyone of the audience would come into motion. The moon would start a celestial journey until it stood over my head, stars would stare with dazed eyes, and the branches of trees would swing in ecstasy. One could hear the elements whispering to one another behind the black curtain of night. Often the arches of Taj moved their shoulders. You may believe it or not, but it is true, that I often talked with those arches: and, whenever I looked up at the silent dome of the Taj, I found its lips quivering.

# **Congress Address 1923**

**Address to the Indian National Congress  
Special Session  
Delhi**

**“When the order of the day is, ‘Protect Hindus’ and ‘Protect Muslims’, who cares about protecting the nation? The press and platform are busy fanning bigotry and obscurantism, while a duped and ignorant public is busy shedding blood on the streets.”**

## Congress Address 1923\*

Representatives of the people, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been necessary for us to meet in this historic monument, prior to the appointed time, because we are at a critical juncture in our struggle for Independence. We need to look for solutions for the difficulties that lie ahead. If I say that the difficulties of the hour and the tasks before us are unprecedented in the history of Congress, I will be voicing the sentiments of every individual in this Assembly. Three years ago, when you had gathered at a similar Assembly in Calcutta, it was an important moment in history; as significant as those occasions at which nations make official declarations of wars for Independence. This day is reminiscent of those times when nations have to deal, not with declarations of war, but with intricate and decisive issues arising from those declarations. When we met on that day, you were concerned about the onset of war, today you are anxious about its outcome. That day you were intent on starting your journey, today you are facing the danger of getting lost. Then you were anxious to lift your anchor and set sail, but now, to quote Hafiz, "The ship has left one shore, the other gleams in the distance, and the lapping waves have encircled the bark."

Gentlemen, when I see that you have selected me to deliver the keynote address at this Assembly, I realize that the confidence you have placed in me is attributable to your generosity rather than to any special deserving on my part. I am thankful for the honour you have bestowed on me but I plead your assistance in the responsibility with which you have entrusted me. There is no doubt that the task we have before us is extremely complex. But our faith is unswerving. We may have doubts about our methods, but not about our goals. Our modest efforts are aimed at justice and truth and we believe that what we are doing on this earth is God's favoured task. Although the arduousness of our journey may cause us anxieties, we should never allow ourselves to become disheartened. We should believe

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\* On 15 December, 1923, Maulana presided over a Special Session of Congress. At the age of thirty-five, Maulana was the youngest Congress president. At this time, the communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims had reached a pitch. Maulana's speech is emphatic about Hindu-Muslim unity.

that God's providence which started us on our mission and gave us courage when we were weak and helpless, will continue to protect us throughout the balance of the journey, until we finally reach our victory goal.

### **Problems of the Time**

If I had to comment on the current events and problems, I would have preferred silence to speech. There is nothing left to say which can shed new light or give us a new direction. There was a stage when the expression of Indian national sentiment was confined to criticizing the injustices of bureaucracy. Later, criticism then turned to complaint, and complaint became protest. At every perpetration of injustice we yelled, we bellowed. Now matters stand at a point when we have no option other than to make our own decision. Having seen so much injustice we have now become used to it as if it were a part of our daily life. It has become unnecessary to talk of injustice; in fact, even referring to it is an insult to our intelligence. The stark reality has been disclosed to us. We can expect no surprises, nor can any further veils be lifted. We have no doubt that whatever has been happening to us will continue to happen, unless we take the initiative to change it. We are not dealing with people who will change with the changing times. We are dealing with a government which is blatantly unjust. And if it continues to become stronger, it will not be a result of its intrinsic strength, it will be because our negligence would have strengthened its foundations. Injustice is the essence and not an accident of this system. We should feel neither surprised nor angry; we should try our hardest to terminate it, for once and for all.

### **The Great Turkish Victory**

Gentlemen, I am sure that the first thing you expect me to do is to express on your behalf sentiments of joy at an event which has a strange but glorious connection with your national struggle, and which marks a magnificent epoch of your national history. It was God's will that two distantly placed Eastern nations should be joined together in the name of justice and freedom in a way that one would feel the pain of the other, and the victory of either would be the rejoicing of both. Which are these two separate parts of the East which have been brought so close to one another in their common quest for justice and freedom? First India, a country which while asking for her own Independence, demanded freedom and self-determination for Turkey, the Islamic Caliphate, as part of the package of her own national demands. Second, Turkey, a country which is witnessing the dawn of new nationalism. Its revolutionary victories have dazzled the world like the working of a miracle. The spirit of her victorious patriotism has spread all over the Eastern world bringing with it a new message of life and hope.



## **The New East**

We have to remember that the importance which certain events acquire in the pages of history is never perceived by the protagonists of those events. We, too, are passing through a revolutionary phase which fulfils those conditions, which, according to the historians, give rise to mighty revolutions. The world is fast heading towards a new era. All things that, until yesterday, were believed to be unassailable truths, are, today, shaken to their very core. The boundaries of this world are also getting blurred, as are its principles and beliefs. Many heights have fallen down and many depths have raised their levels. Having risen to the maximum height, things have started falling, and the gloomy night of despair has already reached that limit, after which daybreak is imminent. Who can foresee what the immediate future has in store? Even so, whatever is happening makes it abundantly clear (and we don't need any fortune-teller to tell us), that a new East is emerging from these turbulent mutations. Today, the awakening in the East is going through its successive stages. Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha's hands have not only shaken up the sleeping destiny of Turkey, they have knocked at all the doors in the East. The echoes of that knock are resounding in the plains of West Asia, and can be heard through the wilderness of Africa. They are even heard over the lapping waves of the Indian Ocean, and, it would not be surprising if the echoes of this knock reverberate through every nook and corner of the East.

Gentlemen, India cannot ignore or forget its natural and geographical association with this magnificent movement in the East. She has linked her own struggle with this movement, and shares with the Turks the sentiments of togetherness and affinity. In fact, India commends the spirit of every Eastern nation which is fighting for freedom, and feels chagrin for every nation which is lagging behind in these endeavours. India assures the patriots of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Morocco and other Eastern countries, that millions of Indian hearts are praying for their success, and that their freedom is no less dear to us than our own Independence.

## **Constantinople and Yervada Jail**

Gentleman, when we look towards the magnificent palaces of the Khalifas of Turkey, and congratulate them on their splendid victories, our mind turns to a tiny cell in India where India's greatest son is imprisoned. I am certain that if there is anyone outside Turkey who deserves to be congratulated on Turkey's victory, it is the great leader of India, Mahatama Gandhi, who raised his voice in Turkey's support at a time when no one, not even Turkey herself, had spoken in her own defence. It were his discerning eyes that grasped the entire scope and depth of this issue at a glance, and invited all Indians to make it a national issue and not that of the Muslims alone. Gentlemen, the struggle that India waged under the



guidance of Mahatma Gandhi for the Khilafat Movement, is a very special and significant event of the present times, a debate on its consequences will be carried on for a long time in the pages of history. It is premature for us to assess all the consequences of this struggle. Even so, some of the consequences are so obvious that they admit no doubt or debate; and each one of them is so important and significant that a full-fledged struggle could have been launched to attain it. Due to the Khilafat Movement, the Hindu-Muslim unity issue, without which India's freedom would be a shattered dream, was resolved, and the obstacles, which were blocking its progress for a long time, were overcome.

### **Difficulties of the Time**

Gentlemen, right at the start, I had mentioned the difficult times we are passing through. For any national struggle, organized unity is most essential, and any kind of dissent is most dangerous. Our unity has weakened at this moment; therefore the dangers. I want to draw your attention to the nature and the extent of these problems, our inability to make an accurate assessment may result in another crisis. Today, we are at mid-point between despair and disappointment. If we underestimate the problems we face, we may become negligent, and if we take an exaggerated view we may find ourselves plunged in despair. We should neither be negligent nor scared. We must fight and overcome, and that can be done only if we correctly estimate the problems that lie ahead. What we need most of all are scales and measurements, rather than arms and ammunition.

### **The Uniformity of Laws of Social Life**

At this stage we should reflect on the natural laws which govern society. They exist within our range of knowledge, but sometimes strong emotional biases obscure the realities which are otherwise recognized by the intellect.

In this amazing universe of life and movement, we are a minute particle like several other known and unknown particles, which are created during its continuous revolutions. What has happened once, will happen time and again, and what one person has experienced, will be experienced by all who follow a similar course. This is an unvarying and inviolable truth. In the words of the Persian poet-philosopher Omar Khayyam, "Life is the same story, repeated over and over again, with new names and new characters." To quote Victor Hugo, the famous French writer, "Life patterns are continuous, but repetitious."

This law of universality is as relevant for society as it is for individuals. Just as the actions of individuals are attributable not only to their individuality but also to their mental and physical condition, so also the actions of society. Societies having the same temperament will react similarly, given similar circumstances. Birth and death of nations, their rise or fall, lethargy or energy, freedom or subjugation, success or failure, all is governed by

one law. Whatever has befallen one nation will befall all others which follow in its footsteps. This amazing uniformity of social laws has been expressed in these words by Abdul Rehman Ibn Khaldoon, a historian-philosopher of the thirteenth century, who first formulated the principles of the philosophy of history. He states, "If we omit the date and names, then the history of one nation or era can be substituted for any and every nation and time. For men and dates constitute the only difference in the histories of different nations." A similar view has been expressed recently in a more comprehensive manner by the French author Dr. Gustave Le Bon, "When we have formulated the laws of social psychology in a manner similar to individual psychology, it would then be possible for us to write the history of a single nation and civilization, and use it for every nation and civilization. Its use will become permanent like a millennium calendar."

### **A Stage of Trial**

Let us pause for a moment and analyse the troubles we face today in the context of the psychology of collective action. There is no need to repeat the truism that as in the case of individuals, the real source of the actions of a nation lies in its collective mind. When the mental development of the members of a nation reaches the stage at which they feel they can express themselves, they wait for the right opportunity. Mental preparedness includes a strong motivation to surmount all differences of views and opinions, and the desire to mobilize all the diverse elements and bring them to a focal point.

When individual minds join together to form a collective mind, they are motivated by emotion rather than by reason or logic. Consequently, the focal point, too, is created by emotions and not by logic. When this condition is fulfilled, active struggle commences, and, depending on the underlying strength, a confrontation with other emergent and opposing forces takes place. Thereafter, the struggle may succeed in attaining its goal, or, in accordance with the natural laws of progression, it advances, but with frequent pauses. These pauses are of varying length, and are governed by various laws especially the law of action and reaction. At such junctures we are plunged into despondency and wariness. The greatest impact of this pause is felt on the ideas which we have cherished all along. It seems as if a bunch of papers which were carefully tied in bundles has suddenly become loose. Differences start to appear. Winds of dissension begin to blow, and the national struggle runs into difficult times. Like group dynamics, this too, is a physical-dynamic, and, therefore, largely uninfluenced by reason or knowledge. No matter how sensible they are, and how well aware of the past experiences of the ages, people cannot stop themselves from reacting to these conditions. Nevertheless, if the vital parts of the struggle are sound, then all these physical symptoms do not constitute any real threat. Often the pause is momentary. Although on

certain occasions it develops into a postponement and that state is fraught with dangers.

As soon as this stage is over, which was an essential period for the state of intoxication to wear off, the veil of depression is lifted, and the struggle begins with its previous fervour. It appears more energetic and longer lasting than before, because this momentary pause was only at the surface, deep down other forces were at work. In its fresh phase there is the added vigour of a new force along with those previously at work.

The actions of groups, like all changes and alterations in this world, either fade away or persist. They are not born afresh each time; they only rise and fall. We mistakenly feel that the fall is the end, and the rise, a new birth. To regard the suspension of any national activity as its end, is as erroneous as to say that the ebb of the tide means that the sea will never rise again. Our national struggle has arrived at such a suspension or hiatus. The struggle was hurtling along, full steam. Suddenly the decision of Bardoli caused it to pause, and it screeched to a halt.

It was natural that the sudden pause should prove painful. All those effects followed which are the natural results of suspended activities. One such effect is that our organization has been shaken up. It appears that a packed and sealed commodity is being rapidly taken apart. The relative inactivity of our movement, the split in the Congress, the rupture in Hindu-Muslim unity, the failure of all attempts to bring about a union, all these are the effects of the shock that our movement has received.

Gentlemen, this is a stern trial from which we must emerge triumphant, given our determination to secure victory. I hope you will not take individual incidents to heart. For those who understand the psychology of nations, and the course of history, this condition parallels the case of a runner who has paused for a breath before recommencing his marathon race.

It should not concern us that our opponents and critics are self deceived by our present condition, for their mental state is such that they will recognize power only when they are brought face to face with it. We should, however, have no doubts about the real strength of our position. What is it that we have lost? The intellectual springs of our efforts are still strong and its foundations are still unshaken. We do not feel any slackening in their forward momentum. Can we doubt the evidence of our own success? Do we not feel it in our heart as an abiding faith, before our eyes as an ideal, and in every vein like the spirit of life itself.

Gentlemen, allow me to make a statement on your behalf which, I hope, will reflect your thinking. With the greatest confidence I wish to announce that our struggle will continue as before. We have simply paused for a moment, a fact which has delayed the process of making a definite decision, but which has not stopped our struggle. Problems of sustaining enthusiasm and exercising caution have, indeed, arisen but we

emphatically deny any question of our relinquishing the struggle, or even of temporary despair.

While drawing your attention to the fact that there is no cause for despair, I must add that there is no excuse whatsoever for slackening our efforts. We should not forget the unassailable truth that, however trifling the disease, if neglected, it can prove fatal. The trial before us, today, i.e. the slackening of our activities, is a temporary ailment, but we should not allow it to develop into a terminal disease. How can we guard against this? What is the solution to the current problem? What we need is unity and it is for this reason that we have gathered here today. This memorable day has dawned in order to provide us with a few moments for reflection which will tide us over the present crisis. We have invited the world to witness the consequences of our trial. Will we maximize the advantage of this opportunity? A few hours should answer this question.

### **Non-violent Non-cooperation**

It is essential that I base my request on a fundamental premise. For the achievement of our objectives, we have adopted the principle of non-violent non-cooperation. Non-cooperation is based on that simple but universal truth that we should not cooperate with evil, so that it may be stopped from multiplying. All the religious and moral philosophies of the world share this belief. And if we substitute the word "harm" for the word "evil" (in my opinion the two are synonymous), we will find Non-cooperation not only a universal belief of mankind but a natural tendency in the animal world. Here we are reminded of the teachings of all religions. Islam has commanded its followers to adopt the path of non-cooperation with the intention that they should not support or strengthen those individuals or groups whose activities hurt their country. The same doctrine is found in other religions. In the political struggles of nations not only is non-cooperation a commonly accepted principle, but it has even been adopted as the universal principle of action. It is obvious that no community or nation has won freedom through cooperation. Every nation has struggled for its freedom and struggle means confrontation, not cooperation. Civil Disobedience is the strongest weapon of the weaker nations.

Whenever smaller nations have been unable to offer armed resistance to tyranny they have adopted this method as the only means of attaining their objective. This united voice of nations, religions, and morality is an age-old fact of life. "Suffer as you may but never turn your face away from what you consider to be right." It is said that in the weak and helpless beginnings of every religion, these principles are the only support and strength offered. We see them reflected in Socrates' cup of poison. We see them engraved on the cross of Jerusalem. The streets of Mecca have heard their grand appeal. The first two centuries in the history of the Christian faith were chapters that were written on this subject. During the time of the



Roman Emperor, Severus, when the weak foundations of the Christian church were being shaken by the storms of tyranny and injustice, it was the unconquerable spirit of this principle that strengthened its tottering structure. A Christian martyr of that period, Tertulian, read a statement before the Roman judges, which has been quoted by the American writer, Draper in his book *Conflict between Religion and Science*: "Our community has not existed for long, but is there a single place where we do not exist? Cities, islands, provinces, forts, barracks of armies, Courts of Empires, Chambers of Senates, we occupy every high place in your Government. We have left you nothing except your places of worship. Think it over. We can start a civil war if we wish, but our religion teaches us that it is better to be killed than to kill. Consequently, we suffer, we do not fight." Can there be a more perfect and more effective expression of passive resistance? Today, after seventeen hundred years, we can use these words as our guiding light.

### **Count Leo Tolstoy**

In modern times, the first man who preached passive resistance as a weapon for obtaining political rights, for opposing the injustice of government, and as a substitute for armed revolution was the great and true Christian teacher of Russia. His name is Count Leo Tolstoy. This principle is enunciated in his world famous teachings. He made a vehement protest against the soulless materialism of the Western civilization, the intolerable inequality of social conditions, the ruthless oppression by capitalism, and the tyranny of the Orthodox Russian Church. His extremist views resulted in an ex-President of America making the following comment: "They (his views) have, without doubt, passed the bounds of moderation and practicability." But in all the teachings of Tolstoy, passive resistance is explained as a simple and practical doctrine which shows the world the easiest way of fulfilling its aspirations.

The essential spirit of Tolstoy's teaching is that war and murder must end, and the forces that are aligned against justice and human rights should not be opposed with arms. Their power is based on the institutions which they have created, and if people stop participating in them, they will not be able to survive for a single moment.

### **Mahatma Gandhi**

The world has always needed Mahatma Gandhi's practical guidance more than theoretical preaching. There is nothing new or exciting about the concepts of reality and truth, but recognition and pursuit of truth is always an exhilarating experience. We all recognize that, in theory, it is our duty to fight for freedom; but to actually fight for it was known to only a few men like Washington. Though Tolstoy expounded the theory of Non-cooperation, but his work waited practical exposition at the hands of another individual. So great a personality is he, that he seems to have been selected

for this task by Providence itself. His name is Mahatma Gandhi. Even before Tolstoy, the world knew of the Non-cooperation concept, but before Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene, no one understood how this force could be applied in actual practice.

### **The Programme of Non-cooperation**

The method of Non-cooperation which India adopted under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, was, in principle, the same as the world had seen before, although changed in several practical respects. It used to be an ethical course; it is now a political programme. The beliefs and principles presented by Tolstoy were so expansive that, on the one hand, they clashed with the existing thoughts and beliefs of men, as well as with many of their rules of conduct, and, on the other, they presented extreme practical difficulties. The present form of Non-cooperation has acquired a completeness of its own. As it stands now, it does not clash with religious or political beliefs. It contains no complexity which cannot be rationalized within a very short time. Non-violence is the soul of Non-cooperation, with the proviso that if it is not accepted as an article of faith it be accepted as an expedient and strong policy. To break all ties which bind the bureaucracy to the people of India, is the central belief of Non-cooperation, but it has greatly narrowed its potential sphere of activities. It wants to work in a manner that its strictures cause the least possible suffering to those who adopt it as a weapon.

Self-sacrifice, self-restraint and moral strength are the weapons prescribed for use in this combat. But the movement allows us full latitude, and, except from select persons who can be held up as an example to the nation, it does not demand anything from the masses which may be difficult for them to do. For all those struggling for their rights, it has become a principle of political action which is extremely simple, and, therefore, practical. It assures a bloodless victory to all the nations of the world, and keeps in mind not only adherence to principles, but also the practice of policy.

### **Nature of the Programme**

The fundamental principle of this programme is this: We should launch an unarmed and non-violent struggle against the present armed bureaucracy of India, and secure a victory which will compel them to lay down arms before the will of the Indian people. For India as for any other country the question that begs a decision is, "What should prevail? The will of the people or the rule established by armed force?"

The question arises, how will we launch our unarmed struggle? Our programme suggests a course of action which is not inspired by necessity or expediency, but by firm conviction. It suggests that we detach ourselves from the present system of government for two important reasons. First,

because it is an intrinsically evil force, and second, because our Non-cooperation will drain its strength and render it impotent. That this is our need as well as our duty, is the unanimous verdict of religion, ethics, experience and history. We should not become an instrument of the injustice which we are being subjected to.

There is no doubt that Indian history can be altered between the rising and setting of a single sun, provided that unanimously and simultaneously, we withdraw from active co-operation. How should this be accomplished? All our difficulties are summarized in this one question. In this war, which is not a war, the answer to this question has to be given on a war-footing.

The Non-cooperation Movement has divided its strategy into two natural parts. First, the collection of war materials, and second, the business of war. War materials mean men inspired by the spirit of passive resistance. War means a confrontation between our passive strength and their bureaucratic power. This trial of strength must come to a head sooner or later.

### **The Mentality of Non-cooperation**

It is clear that the misunderstandings which have been propagated about the mentality of the Non-cooperation Movement are quite far-fetched. It is believed that Non-cooperation is a challenge to Western civilization and science, and that it preaches a new code of morals and a new religion instead of politics. There exists the mistaken impression that it advocates complete dissociation from wordly activities, and stands for retrogression rather than for progress. I reject this view as a complete misinterpretation. Non-cooperation has no direct link with educational, social or civic issues.

In India, there are several views about the pros and cons of Western civilization and culture. The mental placidity of Europe and America, too, has been disturbed and new ideas are cropping up. Like Leo Tolstoy, Mahatma Gandhi, too, has his own ideas about Non-cooperation, but the concept itself is fairly focussed. It has no religious instruction to offer its followers, nor does it have a new scheme for prayer and renunciation. In every way it qualifies as a political programme, based on truth and fact. Religion, morality and history recognize its existence, and have their own respective names for it. If it preaches the boycott of schools and law courts, it is not motivated to do so because of any opposition to European sciences and legal practice, but because it hates the oppression under which Indians are compelled to work in these institutions. Its insistence on the use of *Khaddar* is not due to hostility against expensive Western materials, but rather a preference for home-spun; and also because of the belief that for her political salvation, India needs to adopt simple habits and a rigorous spirit of self-discipline.

### **The Success of the Experiment**

I have no hesitation in stating that the programme has far exceeded the normal degree of success expected from such a programme. If three years



ago it was a principle, the success of which could be anticipated by reasonable projection, today it is a tried experiment, the effectiveness of which is borne out by observation and experience.

National revolutions are not born within the precincts of a country, they are first felt in the depths of the human heart and soul. In twelve months, Non-cooperation has completely changed the Indian mentality. It has increased the political capacity of all classes of people. It has brought the message of liberty and patriotism to every single individual on this continent. It has created revolutions in the lives of thousands. The fear of punishment and pain that is natural under these conditions, was so completely rooted out that imprisonment became a sport, and lawcourts became theatres of public entertainment. There is not one single avenue of the liberty struggle which has not been opened to us. If these events are of recent vintage what more proof do we require of the fact that the programme is wise, practical and unerringly effective? Non-cooperation Movement never claimed to work any miracles. Its humble contention was that, provided that country adhered to it, it could, without weapons and violence, acquire a degree of spiritual strength which would prove invincible when pitted against bureaucratic power. Aren't these results a conclusive proof of its success?

### **Discipline**

Just as blind obedience is an impediment to all success and progress, discipline is a prerequisite for all corporate action. A commander may have made a mistake in issuing orders, but a soldier must obey even though he does not agree with his leader. If we receive the wrong commands, we must be prepared for death, like the regiment at Sebastopol for whom Tennyson has written the famous elegy, rather than disobey. Better suffer the consequences of wrong leadership than have the whole army defect on the battlefield.

Today, our leadership is reposed in one single body, the Indian National Congress. We are in a state of war. We should give our blind obedience neither to Congress, nor to its leadership. at the same time, however, we should not step outside the boundary of discipline.

### **The Councils**

After considering all aspects of the situation, I have reached the conclusion that under the present circumstances, it is useless for us to boycott the Councils. During the previous elections, boycott was considered necessary; that necessity has now been reversed. Today it is useful for us to occupy as many seats as possible. We should enter the Councils and Assemblies, and follow a plan of action which makes them yet another forum for our activities. I believe that our future programme should be such that one section of our party should enter the Councils, while the other

should continue its activities outside.

### **Hindu-Muslim Unity**

I have taken so much time in describing our superstructure, that the question of the foundation, i.e. Hindu-Muslim unity still needs to be considered. Without this foundation, our freedom and all the factors of our country's life and progress will remain a dream. Without it, once again, we cannot create, within ourselves, the primary principles of humanism. Today, if an angel were to descend from the heaven and declare from the top of the Qutab Minar, that India will get Swaraj within twenty-four hours, provided she relinquishes Hindu-Muslim unity, I will relinquish Swaraj rather than give up Hindu-Muslim unity. Delay in the attainment of Swaraj will be a loss to India, but if our unity is lost, it will be a loss for entire mankind.

### **The Present Condition of the Country**

No one who has the slightest love for India can remain unmoved at her present condition. Four years ago we made a grand announcement to the world. In a voice filled with national pride we asked the world to standby and wait for our freedom. But the moment the world's attention became focussed on us, a different story became evident, the story of our shamelessness and bloodshed. Instead of Swaraj and Khilafat, slogans of *Shuddhi* are being raised. "Save the Hindus from Muslims", says one group, "Save Islam from Hinduism", says another. When the order of the day is, "Protect Hindus" and "Protect Muslims", who cares about protecting the nation? The press and platform are busy fanning bigotry and obscurantism, while a duped and ignorant public is shedding blood on the streets. Bloody riots have occurred at Ajmer, Palwal, Saharanpur, Agra and Meerut. Who can say where these unfortunate consequences will lead?

### **Communal Organizations**

It was not so long ago that the Muslims, as a community, took no part in the activities of the Congress. They felt that being small in number, and deprived of wealth and education, they could not afford to participate in any national struggle. As a result, they held aloof from the national movement and confined themselves to communal organizations.

Those of you who have been studying changes in Muslim corporate life during the last twelve years know that mine was the first voice raised in 1912 against this attitude. I invited the attention of my Muslim brethren to the fact that by persisting in the policy of aloofness they were making themselves an impediment to the freedom of the country. I said, they should trust their Hindu brothers, abandon the policy of communalism, join Congress, and make the country's freedom their ultimate goal. At that time my message was not well received by my Muslim brethren. I found

strong opposition to my views. But not long after that the Muslims recognized the truth. In 1916, when I was interned at Ranchi, I heard that a large number of Muslims were entering the fold of Congress.

Just as in 1921 I raised my voice against the Muslims, and fear of their opposition did not deter me from the truth, so also today, I consider it my duty to raise my voice against my brothers who are hoisting the flag of Hindu *Sangathan*. I am surprised to see that the mentality of the Muslim political circles of those days is being mirrored among these people today. But whereas the Muslims were prompted by the fear of their numerical inferiority, these excitable people are four times the number of Muslims.

I declare, without hesitation, that India wants neither a Hindu nor a Muslim *Sangathan*. We require one single *Sangathan* — the Indian National Congress.

Some responsible leaders of the *Shuddhi* movement assert that it is not opposed to Hindu-Muslim unity. Therefore, after preaching opposition, they end on a note of cordiality and love. To these gentlemen I would suggest that having already led us along the wrong path, they should not now invite us to deny human nature. Jesus Christ asked people to forgive their enemies. But the world to this day, has not even forgiven its friends. Do you believe that having excited the passions of jealousy and revenge, you can continue the business of cordiality and love?

On the subject of *Shuddhi*, I want to say that while, in theory, we can separate our common struggle for political salvation from our religious quarrels, in practice, we cannot keep them in different compartments. We want composite nationhood. It will, however, be impossible to create an atmosphere of harmony when slogans of *Malechh* are being raised in one quarter, while the other is resounding with cries of *Kafir*.

## The National Pact

Let me remind you that we should, without further delay, prepare a National Pact which will not only define our national goal, but will also give a verdict on the daily clashes and future relationships of all the communities that make up our country.

## Conclusion

Like the historic days of other nations, this remarkable day may result in diametrically opposite consequences. We can either achieve the greatest possible success or the most dismal failure. This is a time of trial for our patriots, our determination, and our courage. Come, let us overcome every obstacle and devote ourselves to building our common destiny.

# **Congress Address 1940**

## **Address to the Indian National Congress Ramgarh**

**“Our shared life of a thousand years has forged a common nationality. Such moulds cannot be artificially constructed. Nature’s hidden anvils shape them over centuries. The mould has now been cast and destiny has set its seal upon it.”**

## Congress Address 1940\*

Friends,

You elected me President of this National Assembly in 1923. Today, after seventeen years, you have, once again, conferred upon me the same honour. In the history of national struggles, seventeen years is not a long period. The pace of events and universal change occurs so rapidly that old standards do not apply. During the last seventeen years, in rapid succession, we passed through many stages. A long journey stretched before us, which, inevitably, took us to several temporary posts. We stopped to rest at each post, but never came to a standstill. Although we surveyed and examined every prospect, but, resisting every distraction, we kept moving on. We faced many ups and downs, but our faces were always set towards the goal. Others may have doubted our intentions and our determination but we never had a single moment's self-doubt. Our path was uphill; at every step we faced obstacles. Perhaps we could not proceed as fast as we would have liked to, but we did not flinch from continuing the forward trend.

If we look back at the period between 1923 and now, 1923 will appear a faded landmark in the distance. At that time, we wanted to reach our goal, but our goal was so distant that even the milestones were hidden from our eyes. Now just lift up your eyes and glance ahead. Not only will you see the milestones clearly but the goal itself will appear imminent. It is inevitable that the nearer we get to our goal, the more intense does our struggle become. While the rapid race of events has brought us closer to our goal, it has, at the same time, created new troubles and problems. Today our caravan is passing through an arduous path. The essential difficulty of time-period such as the present, lies in its conflicting possibilities. It is likely that a correct step may bring us closer to our goal, or a false step may land us miles away from our intended destination.

Maulana was re-elected Congress President on 15 February, 1940. He was received at Ramgarh on 20 March, 1940, by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sarojini Naidu. The 53rd session of Congress at Ramgarh was held one day later than scheduled, due to heavy rainfall. Maulana addressed the gathering and announced his new Working Committee.

By electing me President at this critical juncture, you have demonstrated the great confidence you have in one of your fellow workers. For me this is an honour and a responsibility. I am grateful for the honour, and crave your support in shouldering the responsibility. I am confident that your faith in me will be a measure of the support that I shall continue to receive from you.

### **The Real Problem of the Day**

I should, without further delay, come straight to the heart of the matter. The first and the most important question before us is, where are we going as a consequence of the step we took following the declaration of war on 3 September, 1939? And secondly, where do we stand now?

The 1936 Lucknow session of Congress marked the beginning of a new ideological phase. At that time, Congress passed a resolution on the international situation and placed its viewpoint clearly and categorically before the public. After this historical move, a review of the international situation, and a resolution following that, became an integral part of the annual proceedings of the Congress. After full deliberation, the resolutions made on this subject were placed before the world.

These resolutions presented two views. First, the new ideology in Indian politics that despite our present state of helplessness we would not remain isolated from the outside world. It was essential that while we strode ahead and shaped our future, we do not confine our attention to our own boundaries. Instead, we needed to keep vigil over the outside world. Changing world conditions had brought countries and nations closer to one another. Thoughts and actions, rising like waves in one corner of the world, created ripples in far off places. It was, therefore, impossible for India, to solve her problems while restricting herself to her boundaries. It was inevitable that events in the outside world would have their impact on India; and equally probable that our decisions and conditions would affect the rest of the world.

This realization led to certain decisions at the party level. Our resolutions declared unequivocal condemnation of the growing forces of Fascism and Nazism, which we considered lethal combat weapons pitted against democracy and individual and national freedom. These resolutions were passed again and again, starting with the Lucknow session of the Congress, right until August, 1939. They were known as War Resolutions. Meanwhile, Fascism and Nazism were gaining momentum day by day. India regarded this a great danger to world progress and peace. Emotionally and intellectually, she aligned herself with the supporters of democracy and freedom.

While India could not endure the prospect of Nazism and Fascism, she was even more repulsed by British Imperialism. No circumstances could compel her to extend a helping hand to promote imperialism. This was the



second point emphasized in those resolutions. All the resolutions had been placed before the British Government, when suddenly, in the third week of August 1939, war clouds gathered, and, at the beginning of September, the war broke out.

At this stage I will ask you to pause for a moment and reflect. What were the conditions which prevailed last August?

*The Government of India Act 1935* was forcibly imposed on India by the British. Restoring to her old tricks, Britain tried to make the world believe that a large proportion of India's rights had been conferred upon her. The Congress decision to reject this Act also became a well-known stand; nevertheless, it decided that a conflict should be avoided at this stage. Congress resolved to form Provincial Governments, provided certain conditions were met. As a consequence, Congress Ministries started functioning successfully in eight out of eleven Provinces.

It was in the interest of Britain to maintain these conditions for as long as possible. Another factor was India's condemnation of Nazi Germany. Her sympathy with the democratic nations was a point in Britain's favour. Under these circumstances, it was natural to expect that if the British Government altered its imperialistic mentality, it would, even as a measure of expediency, change its old methods and allow India to feel that she was breathing in a changed environment. But we all know how badly the British Government behaved. Not the slightest indication of change was discernible in its attitude. Its policy was exactly in line with the 150 years old story of imperialism. Having decided its course of action, and, without giving India the slightest opportunity to declare her preference, her participation in the war was announced. It was not even considered necessary to give those representative Assemblies, imposed upon us in an effort at window-dressing for the benefit of the outside world, an opportunity to express their opinion.

It is common knowledge that all the countries which made up the Empire were allowed free decision-making. The representative Assemblies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, all of them arrived at independent decisions, without any external pressure, with regard to their participation in the war. Not only this, but when Ireland decided to remain neutral, no one expressed surprise, nor was a single voice raised against it in Great Britain. Mr. De Valera stood up next door to Britain, and refused to help unless the question of Ulster was settled to his satisfaction.

Today, among all the British dominions where is India's place? India is being told that the generous hand of Britain will confer upon her the precious gift of dominion status in the near but unknown future. But how was her existence recognized? It was recognized by the gesture that when the war began, a war which will probably be remembered as the greatest catastrophe in history, India was suddenly pushed into it, without her even understanding what she was in for! This fact alone was sufficient to indicate

which way the wind was blowing. But there was no need for impatience. Other opportunities were to come and the time was not far when we would see the ugly reality of British imperialism at closer range.

In 1914, when the first spark was struck in a corner of the Balkans, England and France raised the slogan for the rights of small nations. Later, President Wilson's fourteen points were flashed before the world. Their fate is well known. At that time the situation was different. After the last war, England and France, intoxicated with victory, adopted a course which resulted in a counter-reaction. This reaction became an epidemic. It took the form of Fascism in Italy, and Nazism in Germany. Unrestrained dictatorships, based on brute force, challenged the peace and freedom of the entire world. When this happened, the world aligned itself along two rival camps: one supporting democracy and freedom; the other filing behind the reactionary forces. In this way a new face of the war began to emerge. Mr. Chamberlain's government, which regarded Soviet Russia more intolerable than Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and a living challenge to British imperialism, continued to watch this situation for three years. Its attitude towards Nazi ambition was clearly and repeatedly encouraging. One after another, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania, disappeared from the map of the world as free countries; and Great Britain's waffling overtures, continually assisted in their burial. When this strategy reached its natural climax, and, Nazi Germany hurtled ahead, the British Government was compelled to enter the war. Had it not done so, the power of Germany would have become an intolerable menace for British imperialism. The new slogans of freedom, world peace and democracy, replaced the old cry of "Save the smaller nation", and the whole world resounded with these cries! On 3 September, England and France made a declaration of war to the accompaniment of these earth-shattering slogans! People, who had become bewildered and harassed by the new reactionary forces, lent a willing ear to the alluring sounds of these slogans.

### **The Congress Demand**

War was declared on the 3rd of September, and, four days later, the All India Congress Working Committee met at Wardha to discuss the situation. What did the Working Committee do? All the declarations the Congress had made since 1936 were on the table. Also placed before it was the British Government's indictment of India as a belligerent country. No one would have blamed Congress had it made a decision in accordance with the circumstances. But it continued to keep itself on a tight leash and resisted the natural urge to accelerate the course of events. Having logically and dispassionately deliberated on every aspect of the matter, it then took the step, which, today, allows India to raise her head and tell the world that this was the only correct step which could have been taken. It agreed to

postpone its final decision, and asked the British Government to state its War Aims, for on this depended peace and justice not only for India, but for the entire world. If India was being invited to participate in this war, she had a right to know on what basis was the war being fought? What was its objective? If the result of this great human tragedy was not to be the same as that of the last war and if it was really being fought to safeguard Freedom, Democracy, and Peace, and bring about a new world order, then, in all fairness, India had a right to know, what effect these lofty aims would have on her destiny.

The Working Committee formulated this demand in a statement which was published on 14 September, 1939. If I express the hope that, in time, this statement will occupy an outstanding place in Indian history, I am sure I am not presuming too much of the future historian. The statement was simple and based entirely on truth and reason. Only the arrogant pride of a military force could have had the audacity to reject it. Although this cry originated in India, in fact, it was not exclusively Indian, but the agonised cry of wronged humanity, whose hopes had so often been betrayed before. Twenty-five years ago the world was plunged into one of the biggest infernos of death and destruction known to history, yet, as it turned out, it was only a faint reflection of a bigger catastrophe. Slogans such as “Freedom for Small Nations”, “Collective Security” and “International Arbitration” had the effect of magic mantras on credulous nations. But what was the end result? Every cry proved false, every vision that had seemed real vanished like a dream. Once again, nations are being plunged into a blood bath. Should we part with reason and rationality to the extent that we do not ask why this is being done and how this affects our destiny before sinking our nation into this whirlpool of death and destruction?

### **The Response of the British Government and the First Step of the Congress**

In response to the Congress demand, several statements were made both in England and in India on behalf of the British Government. The first was the Delhi declaration of the Viceroy, dated 17 October. This long winded statement is an example of the circumambulating and tiring style which characterises the official documents of the Government of India. Page after page of this statement barely manages to convey the point that if we want to know the War Aims we must read a speech given by the Prime Minister of Britain. This speech refers to peace and to international relations only as they pertain to Europe. The words “Freedom” and “Democracy” are nowhere to be found. So far as India is concerned, it reaffirms the policy stated in the Preamble of the 1919 Act, now embodied in the Act of 1935. That policy remains unchanged; nothing is to be added to or subtracted from it.

On 17 October 1939, the statement of the Viceroy was published; and

on October 22nd, the Working Committee met at Wardha to deliberate on it. Even without discussion it concluded that this statement could not be considered satisfactory. It further stated that it should now, unhesitatingly, announce the decision which had been postponed so far. The decision was as follows:

Under the circumstances, the Committee cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialistic policy which the Congress has always opposed. As a first step in this direction, the Committee calls upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations.

As a result of this decision, the Congress Ministries in eight Provinces resigned.

This was the first in the series of events. What did these events lead to? The Viceroy's communique issued on 5th February from Delhi, summarising his talk with Mahatma Gandhi, and Mahatma Gandhi's statement of 6th February may be regarded as the last in this series. We are aware of the contents of the Viceroy's statement. It stated that the British Government desired that India should, in the shortest possible time, attain the status of British dominion, and that the transition period should be as brief as possible. At the same time, it expressed its reluctance to concede to India the right of framing her own constitution and deciding her own destiny through her elected representatives, without outside interference. In other words, the British Government denied India the right of self-determination.

The first brush with reality shattered the illusions held by people all over the world. For the last four years the world had resounded with cries of democracy and freedom. The statements of the most responsible spokesmen of England and France in this regard are still fresh in our memory. But the moment India raised this question, the hypocrisy and hollowness of these utterances was revealed. Now we were told that, without doubt, safeguarding the freedom of nations was the aim of this war, but that this lofty objective would remain confined to the geographical boundaries of Europe. The peoples of Asia and Africa should not dare to have similar aspirations.

Mr Chamberlain made a categorical statement of this policy in his Birmingham speech of 24th February, though we never had any doubts about the matter. Proclaiming the British War Aims, he stated that they were fighting to ensure the security of the small nations in Europe, and help free them from the constant threat of aggression. Although these War Aims were articulated by a British spokesman, they represent the mentality of entire Europe, which the world has known for two hundred years. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the principles of individual and collective freedom were regarded the exclusive rights of European countries, and that too, only the Christian nations. Today, in the mid-twentieth century, the world

has changed drastically. The thoughts and events of last century read like ancient history, and appear faded landmarks which we have left far behind. There is, however, one distinctive landmark, namely European emphasis on human rights which has not receded to date. We have neither passed it nor achieved it.

The issue is not that India attains dominion status within the shortest possible time or the importance of this issue in the eyes of the British. The straight-forward issue is that of India's rights, whether or not she is entitled to determine her own fate? This issue is at the base of the Indian problem: India will not allow this base to be tampered with, for if it is shaken, the whole structure of Indian nationalism will collapse.

So far as the question of war is concerned, our position is quite clear. For us it reflects the ugly form of British imperialism, as clearly now as it did in the last war. We are not prepared to participate in it. Our case is clear. We do not wish to see British imperialism triumph, become stronger, thus prolonging the period of our own slavery. We categorically refuse. Our way lies, patently, in the opposite direction.

### **Where Do We Stand Today ?**

Let us return to our starting point and consider, once again, where is the path leading us today; the path we took after the declaration of war on the 3rd September? Where exactly do we stand? The answer to both these questions has, by now, become apparent to you and is hovering on your lips. It is not even necessary that you should open your lips, for I feel the poignancy of the answer in the beating of your hearts! The step of temporary and partial cooperation which we took in 1937, was withdrawn after the declaration of war. Non-cooperation became our preferred alternative. As we stand today, we have to decide whether we should march forward or step back. A step once taken impels forward momentum. To cry halt is to go back, and we refuse to retreat. We can only go forward. I am sure that each and every one of you will join me when I proclaim that we must and will go forward.

### **Mutual Settlement**

In this regard, one question comes to mind. Historically, in a struggle between nations, no power willingly relinquishes its territory, unless compelled to do so. Lofty principles of morality may affect the conduct of individuals, but not the selfish pragmatism of oppressor groups. In the mid-twentieth century, we are witnessing how the reactionary forces in Europe have shattered man's faith in individual and collective human rights. In place of justice and reason, brute force has become the sole argument in the arbitration of rights. But this depressing view of the matter has another, more hopeful, aspect. Millions of men and women are waking up to a new consciousness which is rapidly spreading all over the world. These people,



tired of the hopelessness of their condition, are impatient for a new order based on reason, justice, and peace. This new awakening, which occurred after the last war, and became firmly entrenched in the deep recesses of the human soul, is now reflected in people's minds and in their utterances. The furious pace at which this awakening has occurred, has no parallel in history.

During these dark times, it is his faith in the bright side of human nature which sustains the great soul of Mahatma Gandhi. He is always prepared to take advantage of every opportunity which might lead to a mutual settlement without feeling that he is weakening his unassailable position.

Since the war began, several members of the British Cabinet have tried to make the world believe that the old order of British imperialism has ended, and the British government has no aim other than to establish peace and justice. Which country could have accorded a warmer welcome to such a declaration than India? But the fact remains that despite these declarations, British imperialism still stands in the way of peace and justice exactly as it did before the war. The Indian demand was the crucible for all such claims; there they were tested and found to be counterfeit and untrue.

### **The Minorities and the Political Future of India**

I have briefly placed before you the vital question of the day. It was in relation to this question that last September, after the declaration of war, Congress placed before the British Government a clear and simple demand, a demand to which no community or group could possibly object. Not in our wildest imagination could we have believed that a communal question could be raised in this regard. No doubt there are some groups in the country which cannot keep up with Congress' struggle for freedom, or go as far as the Congress is prepared to. We know that there are some who disagree with the method of *direct action* which the great majority of political India has adopted. But no group can dare to oppose our demand for Independence and freedom as the birthright of the Indian people. An awakened and impatient India has passed far beyond the early stages when there could have been some dithering on this issue. Even those people have given in to the spirit of these times, who had clung to their special interests and feared change lest it affected them adversely. They have to concede the political goal we have set for India.

If during the last hundred and fifty years of its domination over India, British imperialism has pursued a policy of encouraging internal differences among the inhabitants of this country, splitting them into new groups, and using these groups to consolidate its power, it has been natural corollary of India's political subjugation. It would be futile for us to become embittered on this account. A foreign government whose biggest guarantee of continuance is the internal disharmony in the country, can never allow internal cohesion. At a time when the world was being asked



to believe that the British imperialist phase of Indian history was over; it was certainly not too much to expect the British to stop thinking along those lines. But the succession of events during the last five months has proven that such hopes are untimely, and that imperialism is still alive despite assurance to the contrary.

Anyway, whatever the reasons, we realize that like any other country, India, too, has her internal problems. Among them communalism is a serious one. We do not and should not expect that the British Government will not take its fullest advantage. The problem is undoubtedly there, and if we wish to make any progress we must take it fully into account. Any step that ignores it will be a false one. Recognizing the existence of the communal problem should mean precisely that; we should never allow it to be used as a ploy against India's right as a nation. Britain has always exploited this problem to that end. If it now wishes to end the past phase of its history in India, it must realise that this is where we would like to see the first signs of change.

Where does Congress stand with regard to the communal problem? Since its inception, Congress claimed that it represents India as a whole and every move it makes is in the interest of the entire Indian nation. We must concede that by this assertion, Congress has exposed itself to the most ruthless criticism of its policies and it must pass this severe test. Here, I would like to take a fresh look at the Congress policies from this point of view.

As I have said earlier, in this respect three things naturally come to mind: the existence of the communal problem, its importance, and the ways to deal with it. The entire history of Congress demonstrates that it has accepted the existence of this problem and never tried to underplay its significance. The policy it has adopted in dealing with it is most appropriate, and a more suitable course cannot be conceived. If one were suggested, however, Congress would welcome it. Its impact on our political policy is evident in our stand that a solution to this problem is the first condition in the attainment of our national goal. Undoubtedly, it has been an article of faith with the Congress.

In this regard, Congress has always stood by two basic principles, and every step it has taken has accorded to them, clearly and categorically.

1. Any constitution that is framed in future for India, must contain the fullest guarantees for the protection of the rights and interests of the minorities.
2. What are the necessary safeguards for the protection of the rights and interests of the minorities? This judgement rests with the minorities and not the majority. The safeguards must, therefore, be formulated by their consent, and not by majority vote.

The problem of minorities is not confined to India alone. It has existed elsewhere in the world. Today, I take the liberty to address the world from this platform. I would like to know if a more clear and unambiguous policy

than this could have been adopted in this regard. Is there any flaw in this approach which the Congress needs to be reminded of? If so, Congress has always been prepared to remedy any shortcoming in its policies.

I have been with the Congress for nineteen years now. During this period there has not been one single important decision of the Congress in the shaping of which I have not had the honour to participate. I might add that during these nineteen years, there was not a single occasion when Congress thought of resolving this problem in any other way. This has not just been a public pronouncement, but a firm and decisive course of action. Several times, during the last fifteen years, this policy stood every severe test to which it was subjected.

The way it has acknowledged this problem in the Constituent Assembly, brings these two principles in a clearer perspective. Recognized minorities have been given the right, if they please, to elect their own representatives. Their representatives are not obliged by any opinion other than that of their own communities. The issues pertaining to the minorities would be settled, not by the majority opinion in the Assembly, but by the minorities consent. If a consensus does not emerge on a certain issue, then an impartial tribunal, to which the minorities have also consented, may settle it. This last provision is merely in the nature of a precautionary measure and is most unlikely to be used. If a more practical proposal is brought in its place, it may be accepted as a substitute.

When Congress stands by these principles what is it that obliges the British statesmen to remind us, so very often, of the rights of the minorities? And why do they continue to delude the world that the problem of minorities is an obstacle in the way of settling the Indian issue? If it is so, why doesn't the British Government take an unambiguous stand on India's political fate, and provide us an opportunity to resolve this problem once and for all, by mutual consent?

First dissensions are created among us, then we are blamed for them. Opportunities to solve our differences are first denied to us, and then we are solemnly advised to end these differences. Such is the situation deliberately created all around us and such are the chains that bind us on all sides. No matter what the circumstances, nothing can dissuade us from moving forward with courage and fortitude. Our path is strewn with difficulties, each of which we will have to overcome.

### **Indian Muslims and the Future of India**

This, then, was about the problem of India's minorities. But do the Muslims in India constitute enough of a minority to, justifiably, have apprehensions and fears about their future, and nurture misgivings that create agitation in their minds?

I do not know how many of you are familiar with what I wrote in *Al-Hilal*, some twenty-eight years ago. If some of you were readers of *Al-Hilal*, I

request you to refresh your memories. At that time, too. I had expressed this conviction, and, once again, I repeat, that nothing in India's political development has been as blatantly wrong as the assertion that the Muslims constitute a political minority, and that they should be wary of their rights and interests in a democratic India. This one fundamental misconception has led to innumerable misunderstandings. Wrong arguments have been built upon false foundations. On the one hand, it confused the Muslims about their true position in India, and, on the other, it baffled the world so that it could not find the right perspective on India. If I had the time, I would have gone into the details of how, during the last sixty years, an essentially false and artificial image was created; and who were the perpetrators of this falsehood. This was, in fact, a product of the same divisive policy that started taking definite shape in the minds of British officials, after the Congress launched the national movement. The objective of this policy was to use the Muslims to counter this new political awakening. There were two prominent patterns in this design. First, that two different communities, Hindus and Muslims, inhabited India, hence no demand could be made on behalf of a unified nation. Secondly, the Muslims were numerically far less than the Hindus, and, therefore, the establishment of democratic institutions in the country would essentially lead to the rule of the Hindu majority. This would jeopardize the very existence of the Muslims. I will not go into any further details: just remind you that if you wish to learn about the genesis of this policy you should study the times of Lord Dufferin, a former Viceroy of India, and Sir Auckland Colvin, a former Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces (now United Provinces). This was one among the many seeds of discord, sown in the Indian soil by the British. It soon grew and spread its nettles. Even after fifty years, its roots are still firm.

The term "minority", in political vocabulary does not imply a group which in simple arithmetical calculation is numerically smaller than any other group and should, therefore, be given protection. It means a group of people who find themselves ineffective, both numerically and qualitatively, within a bigger and stronger group, so that they have no power or confidence to protect their own rights. It is not enough that a group be small in proportion to another, but be small by itself in absolute terms so as to be incapable of protecting its interests. Besides, it is not merely a question of numbers; the kind also counts. Take for instance, a country inhabited by two communities numbering one and two crores respectively. Though the first is numerically one-half of the second, from a political point of view it does not necessarily follow that on the basis of this proportional difference, we consider the former a minority and accept it as the weaker entity. For being considered a minority, factors other than the proportional difference in numbers, are also important.

Considered from this point of view, what is the real position of the Muslims in India? At a glance you will see them spread out all over the

country in a vast concourse. Their heads are held so high that to consider them a 'minority' deserving special concessions, makes no sense.

They number between eight and nine crores. Unlike other communities, they are not divided on cultural and racial grounds. The powerful bonds of equity and brotherhood in Islamic life have, to a large extent, saved them from the weaknesses that flow from social segmentation. True, their ratio is no more than one-fourth of the total population of the country, but the question is not of the ratio, but of the number and of its quality. Can such a vast mass of humanity have any legitimate reason for the apprehension that in a free and democratic India it may not be able to protect its rights and interests?

They are not confined to a particular area but spread out over different parts of the country. Of the eleven provinces of India, the Muslims are in a majority in four, where the other religious groups constitute the minorities. If we add British Baluchistan to it, there will be five provinces instead of four where Muslims are in a majority. Even if we are compelled to identify 'majority' and 'minority' purely in terms of religious groupings, the position of the Muslims is not that of a minority; if they constitute a minority in seven provinces, they form the majority in five. This being so, there is no reason why they should be disturbed by the thought of being a minority.

Whatever may be the details of the future constitution of India, we all know that it will, in the fullest sense, be a democratic constitution. Every unit will be autonomous with regard to its internal affairs, while the federal centre will be concerned only with matters of common interest to the nation, such as foreign affairs, defence, customs etc. Given this scenario, is it possible that anyone who has any concept of the actual working of a democratic constitution, will have misgivings on the majority and minority issue? I, for one, cannot believe that even for a single moment, there could be any room for these misgivings in the future course of India. These apprehensions arise because, to quote a British statesman on the subject of Ireland, we are still standing on the river bank, and, though we wish to swim, we are unwilling to enter the water! There is only one remedy for such apprehensions; take the plunge fearlessly. No sooner that is done, we shall realise that our fears had no basis in reality.

### **A Fundamental Question before the Muslims of India**

It is about thirty years since I first tried to probe this issue as an Indian Muslim. Those were the days when the majority of the Muslims in India had kept themselves aloof from the political struggle. They still nurtured the same attitude which, in 1888, had made them adopt an attitude of apathy and antagonism towards the Congress. This ambivalent attitude did not deter me. Before long, I had reached a conclusion which showed me the path of faith and action. I realized that India with all the complexities of her



circumstances, was marching ahead towards its future. We, who were sailing the same boat, could not remain indifferent to its course. It was, therefore, incumbent upon us to decide a clear and definite course of action. The question arose, how should we decide? Not by skimming over the surface, but by going deep down to the very root of the matter. I did so and found that the key lay in the answer to just one question. Do we, the Muslims of India, look at the future of Independent India with doubt and mistrust, or with courage and confidence? In case of the former attitude, no pronouncement of the time, no promise about the future, no safeguard in the constitution, can allay our misgivings and fears. We are obliged to tolerate the presence of a third power. This power is already there, and not prepared to withdraw. If we follow the path of fear, we must look forward to its continuance. But if the latter attitude prevails, then we find ourselves in a different world altogether. Doubts, vacillations, apathy, and enervation cannot cast their ominous shadows here. The bright sun of faith, determination, action, and endeavour never sets in this world. No complicity of the times, no imbalances of the situation, no irritants surrounding issues can change our course. We are honour-bound to march ahead towards the attainment of India's national goal. It has taken me no more than a few moments to answer the question posed above. Every fibre of my being revolts against the first position. I do not think it is possible for a Muslim worth his name, unless he has completely rooted out the spirit of Islam from his heart, to subscribe to that position.

I launched the *Al-Hilal* in 1912, and placed my conclusion before the Muslims of India. I need not remind you that my advice was heard and heeded. The period from 1912 -1916 marked a new phase in the political awakening of the Muslims. Towards the end of 1920, when I was released after four years internment, I found that the political outlook of the Muslims has outgrown its old mould and a new mould was being cast. Twenty years have since passed. During this period many changes have occurred. Events have taken new turns, and new trends of thinking have emerged. Yet, one fact remains unaltered even today; that the Muslim public opinion is not prepared to regress into the past .

Once again, let me say that they are not ready to retrace their steps, but their future course has become overcast with misgivings. I would not go into its causes, I will speak only of its effects. I will remind my Muslim brethren that I stand at the same position where I stood when I gave them a call in 1912. Nothing in the ensuing occurrences which have shaped our present circumstances, has gone unnoticed by me. I have been deceived neither by my eyes, nor by my mind. I have watched and felt everything. Events have not just passed before me like a pageant. I have been in the thick of them, a participant, examining each one of them. I cannot help it but I cannot be false to my perceptions. It is impossible for me to deny my convictions; I cannot stifle the voice of my conscience. All this while I have

said one thing and I reiterate it today; there could have been no course of action for the nine crore Muslims of India other than the one I had called them to in 1912.

I have no grudge against my Muslim brethren who, in 1912, responded to my call, but do not agree with me today. I will not reproach them for disagreement, but would make one appeal to their sincerity and sense of justice. We are dealing with the destinies of peoples and nations. We cannot allow ourselves to be swayed by momentary passions while we are making such important decisions. We must build the monoliths of our decisions upon the foundations of solid realities of life. Such monoliths cannot be constructed and demolished everyday. I admit that the atmosphere is overcast with ominous signs. But people must step into the cricle of the light of reason. Let them, even today, examine the issue from beginning to end: they will find no other path open to them but the one indicated by *Al-Hilal*.

### **Muslims and a United Nationalism**

/ I am a Muslim and profoundly conscious of the fact that I have inherited Islam's glorious traditions of the last thirteen hundred years. I am not prepared to lose even a small part of that legacy. / The history and teachings of Islam, its arts and letters, its civilization and culture, are part of my wealth and it is my duty to cherish and guard them. As a Muslim I have a special identity within the field of religion and culture and I cannot tolerate any undue interference with it. But, with all these feelings, / I have another equally deep realization, born out of my life's experience, which is strengthened and not hindred by the spirit of Islam. I am equally proud of the fact that I am an Indian, an essential part of the indivisible unity of Indian nationhood, a vital factor in its total make-up without which this noble edifice will remain incomplete. I can never give up this sincere claim. / It was India's historic destiny that its soil should become the destination of many different caravans of races, cultures and religions. Even before the dawn of history's morning, they started their trek into India and the process has continued since. This vast and hospitable land welcomed them all and took them to her bosom. / The last of these caravans was that of the followers of Islam, who came in the footsteps of their many predecessors and settled down here. This was the meeting point of two different currents of culture. For a time they flowed along their separate courses, but Nature's immutable law brought them together into a confluence. This fusion was a notable historic event. Since then, destiny, in her own secret ways, began to fashion a new India to take the place of the old. We had brought our treasures with us to this land which was rich with its own great cultural heritage. We handed over our wealth to her and she unlocked for us the door of her own riches. We presented her with something she needed urgently, the most precious gift in Islam's treasury, its message of democracy, human equality and brotherhood.



Eleven centuries have passed by since then. Islam has now as valid a claim on this land as Hinduism. If Hinduism has been the religion of its people for several thousand years, Islam, too, has been its religion for a thousand years. Just as a Hindu can say with legitimate pride that he is an Indian and a follower of Hinduism, so can a Muslim proudly claim being an Indian and a follower of Islam. I would go further and say that an Indian Christian (or the follower of any other religion) can similarly claim, with legitimate pride, that he is an Indian following one of her many religions.

Eleven hundred years of common history have enriched India with our common creative and constructive achievements. Our languages, our poetry, our literature, our culture, our art, our dress, our manners and customs all bear the stamp of this common life. Our languages were different, but we grew to use a common language; our manners and customs were dissimilar, but they acted and reacted on each other and thus produced a new synthesis. Our old dress may be seen only in pictures of bygone days; no one wears it today. These common riches are the heritage of our common nationality and we do not want to leave them and go back to the times when this adventure of a joint life had not begun. If there are any Hindus among us who desire to bring back the Hindu life of a thousand years ago and more, they are just dreaming and such dreams cannot become real. Likewise, if there are any Muslims who wish to revive their past civilization and culture, which they brought a thousand years ago from Iran and Central Asia, they too, dream and the sooner they wake up the better. These are unnatural fancies which cannot take root in the soil of reality. I am one of those who believe that revivalism may be necessary in religion, but in matters of culture the same revivalism is a denial of progress.

Our shared life of a thousand years has forged a common nationality. Such moulds cannot be artificially constructed. Nature's hidden anvils shape them over the centuries. The mould has now been cast and destiny has set her seal upon it. Whether we like it or not, we have now become an Indian nation, united and indivisible. No false idea of separatism can break our oneness. We must accept the inexorable logic of facts and apply ourselves to fashioning our future destiny.

## Conclusion

Friends! I won't take much of your time. I would now like to conclude my address. But before I wind up, let me remind you that our success depends on three factors: unity, discipline and confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This leadership, single handedly, shaped the glorious beginning of our movement and it is this, we must look up to, for our future success.

A critical turn of our trial is upon us. We have already invited the world to witness the grand finale. Let us try to live up to the standards we have set for ourselves.



# **On Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday**

**All India Radio, Delhi**

**“In Punjab, five rivers of water have been flowing for thousands of years. Now a sixth river of warm blood has also started flowing. On the rivers of water we constructed bridges of brick, stone and steel. The bridge over the sixth river is being constructed with human corpses.”**

## On Mahatma Gandhi's Brithday\*

Today is Mahatma Gandhi's seventy-eighth birthday. On this day he has completed seventy-eight years. Of these seventy-eight years, full fifty years have been devoted to the service and propagation of human peace and human rights. In fact, this is not just Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, it is the birth anniversary of the longing for peace and humanism. But today, when we are celebrating the birth anniversary of humanity and peace, what is happening all around us? What is happening to peace and humanism? In the very India that gave the world the greatest proponent of peace and humanism, peace is being drowned in blood.

In Punjab, five rivers of water have been flowing for thousands of years. Now a sixth river of warm human blood has also started flowing. On the rivers of water we constructed bridges of brick, stone and steel. The bridge over this sixth river is being constructed with human corpses. Six hundred years ago when the Tatars attacked Multan, Amir Khusro lamented, "In Multan along with five rivers of water, five rivers of blood have also started flowing." At that time this account might have been an exaggeration, but today it is an irreversible fact.

Today there is no peace for a Muslim in Eastern Punjab; likewise, no peace for a Hindu or Sikh in Western Punjab. In this very Delhi, where I am sitting in a building broadcasting to you, whatever happened during these two weeks is enough to lacerate the heart of every true Indian. The question is what has happened to us and where are we going? Only yesterday we were crying for country's freedom and the rest of the world was resounding with the call for a national awakening for India. We charted different designs for an Independent India. We dreamt about new heights for our national life. Where are they now? Can we still see even a dim reflection of those days? Can we still smell the fragrance of those days?

Those who opposed our freedom movement always asserted that peace and tranquility will prevail in India only so long as she is held under bondage. The moment she is free her people will run at each other's throats.

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\* On 2 October, 1947, Maulana recorded this speech from All India Radio on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi's seventy-eighth birthday. This speech is being published for the first time.

For God's sake tell me what will be the result of all this effort if this bloodshed is not stopped forthwith? Our opponents will say that their predictions have been fulfilled. Today Independent India is facing the greatest danger. She is standing at the brink of a deep fissure; she will either fall in the gaping hole, or cross over safely. If we want to defend ourselves against this danger, we must, first of all, try to understand its exact nature. Today we face the threat of destabilisation. If we do not meet this danger with fortitude and collective strength, no one knows what will be the end of it.

It is a fact that in both parts of the Punjab there were widespread disturbances and that both governments failed to control them. Today the main question is what shall we do? Shall we use all our strength to save Punjab from further destruction, and strengthen the law and order situation in the rest of the country, or shall we allow further deterioration of our country? I am sure no one among you will suggest any other way of solving this problem but the first alternative. If you believe that this is the correct way of tackling the problem, it is your duty to assist in the accomplishment of this task. So far as the government is concerned it has taken a firm decision that it will not tolerate the breakdown of law and order, and will come down heavily on those indulging in unlawful activities. You must help the government in the task of maintaining law and order. I will not go into the details of how best you can do it. If you have decided to perform your duty with total dedication, there is hardly any need to tell you how it needs to be done.

Jai Hind.





# **Address to Delhi Muslims**

## **Jama Masjid, Delhi**

**“The minarets of Jama Masjid want to ask you a question. Where have you lost the glorious pages from your chronicles? Was it only yesterday that on the banks of the Jamuna, your caravans performed *wuzu* ? Today, you are afraid of living here !”**

## Address to Delhi Muslims \*

My brethren! You know what has brought me here today. This congregation at Shahjehan's historic mosque is not an unfamiliar sight for me. Here, I have addressed you on several previous occasions. Since then we have seen many ups and downs. At that time, instead of weariness, your faces reflected serenity, and your hearts, instead of misgivings, exuded confidence. The uneasiness on your faces and the desolation in your hearts that I see today, reminds me of the events of the past few years.

Do you remember? I hailed you, you cut off my tongue; I picked my pen, you severed my hand; I wanted to move forward, you broke off my legs; I tried to turn over, and you injured my back. When the bitter political games of the last seven years were at their peak, I tried to wake you up at every danger signal. You not only ignored my call but revived all the past traditions of neglect and denial. As a result the same perils surround you today, whose onset had previously diverted you from the righteous path.

Today, mine is no more than an inert existence or a forlorn cry; I am an orphan in my own motherland. This does not mean that I feel trapped in the original choice that I had made for myself, nor do I feel that there is no room left for my *aashiana* (nest). What it means is that my cloak is weary of your impudent grabbing hands. My sensitivities are injured, my heart is heavy. Think for one moment. What course did you adopt? Where have you reached, and where do you stand now? Haven't your senses become torpid? Aren't you living in a constant state of fear? This fear is your own creation, a fruit of your own deeds.

It was not long ago when I warned you that the two-nation theory was death-knell to a meaningful, dignified life; forsake it. I told you that the pillars upon which you were leaning would inevitably crumble. To all this you turned a deaf ear. You did not realise that fleet-footed time would not change its course to suit your convenience. Time sped along. And now you have discovered that the so-called anchors of your faith have set you adrift,

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\* On 23 October, 1947, Maulana addressed the Muslims of Delhi. At that time they were homeless and afraid, having lost their political and national identity. Maulana lambasted them for contemplating leaving the land of their forefathers and chasing after the false chimera of Pakistan.

to be kicked around by fate. Their understanding of the word fate does not correspond with the lexicon of your belief. For them, fate is another name for lack of courage.

The chessboard of British gamesmanship has been upturned. Those pawns called 'leaders' which you had carved and installed, have disappeared overnight. You believed that the chessboard had been spread forever and forever, and the worship of those pawns was the *summum bonum* of your existence. I do not want to lacerate your wounds, or aggravate your agony. However, if you look into the past you will find that through hindsight you can unravel several mysteries.

There was a time, when exhorting the need for achieving India's Independence, I had called out to you.

No nation, however depraved, can stop the inevitable turn of events. A revolutionary political change has been inscribed in India's book of destiny. The twentieth century maelstrom of freedom is about to break India's chains of slavery. If you falter and fall behind the march of the times, if you remain inert and lethargic, the future historian will record that your flock, a cluster of seven crores, adopted an attitude towards freedom, which was characteristic of a community heading towards extinction. Today, the Indian flag has been hoisted in all its majestic splendour. This is the very same flag which evoked sneers and contemptuous laughter from the rulers of the time.

It is true that time did not accede to your wishes; instead, it bowed in deference to a nation's birthright. This turn of events has struck fear in your heart. Perhaps, you believe that something good has been taken away from you, and has been substituted with something evil. Yes, you are restless; because you had not prepared yourselves for the good, and believed that the evil was, in fact, manna from heaven. I refer to your years of slavery under a foreign rule, under which you were treated as play puppets. There was a time when our nation had plunged herself in pitched battle to overthrow the foreign rule; and, today, the outcome of that struggle is causing you consternation. How should I berate you for your unbecoming haste? Hardly have we completed our journey that you are showing signs of going astray.

My brothers! I have always attempted to keep politics apart from personalities, thus avoiding those thorny valleys. That is why some of my messages are often couched in allusions. But what I have to say today, needs to be direct and to the point. *The partition of India was a fundamental mistake*. The manner in which religious differences were incited, inevitably, led to the devastation that we have seen with our own eyes. Unfortunately, we are still seeing it at some places.

There is no use recounting the events of the past seven years, nor will it serve any good. Yet, it must be stated that the debacle of Indian Muslims is the result of the colossal blunders committed by the Muslim League's

misguided leadership. These consequences however, were no surprise to me; I had anticipated them from the very start.

Now that Indian politics has taken a new direction, there is no place in it for the Muslim League. Now the question is whether or not we are capable of any constructive thinking. For this, I have invited the Muslim leaders of India to Delhi, during the second week of November.

The gloom cast upon your lives is momentary; I assure you we can be beaten by none save our own selves! I have always said, and I repeat it again today: eschew your indecisiveness, your mistrust, and stop your misdeeds. This unique triple-edged weapon is more lethal than the two-edged iron sword which inflicts fatal wounds, which I have heard of!

Just think about this life of escapism that you have opted for, in the sacred name of *Hejrat*. Get into the habit of exercising your own brains, and strengthening your own hearts. If you do so, only then will you realise how immature your decisions were.

Where are you going and why? Raise your eyes. The minarets of Jama Masjid want to ask you a question. Where have you lost the glorious pages from your chronicles? Was it only yesterday that on the banks of the Jamuna, your caravans performed *wuzu*? Today, you are afraid of living here! Remember, Delhi has been nurtured with your blood. Brothers! Create a basic change in yourselves. Today, your fear is as misplaced as your jubilation was yesterday.

The words *coward* and *frenzy* cannot be spoken in the same breath as the word Muslim. A true Muslim can be swayed neither by avarice nor apprehension. Don't get scared because a few faces have disappeared. The only reason they had herded you in a single fold was to facilitate their own flight. Today, if they have jerked their hand free from yours, what does it matter? Make sure that they have not run away with your hearts. If your hearts are still in the right place, make them the abode of God. Some thirteen hundred years ago, through an Arab *ummi*\*, God proclaimed, "Those who place their faith in God and are firm in their belief, no fear for them nor any sorrow." Winds blow in and blow out; tempests may gather but all this is short-lived. The period of trial is about to end. Change yourselves as if you had never been in such an abject condition.

I am not used to altercation. Faced with your general indifference, however, I will repeat that the third force has departed, and along with it, its trappings of vanity. Whatever had to happen has happened. Politics has broken out of its old mould and a new cast is being prepared. If your hearts have still not changed and your minds still have reservations, it is a different matter. But, if you want a change, then take your cue from history and cast yourself in the new mould. Having completed a revolutionary phase, there still remains a few blank pages in the history of India. You can make yourselves worthy of filling those pages, provided you are willing.

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\* Illiterate. The Prophet of Islam could neither read nor write.

Brothers! Keep up with the changes. Don't say, "We are not ready for the change." Get ready. Stars may have plummeted down but the sun is still shining. Borrow a few of its rays and sprinkle them in the dark caverns of your lives.

I do not ask you to seek certificates from the new echelons of power. I do not want you to lead a life of sycophancy as you did during the foreign rule. I want to remind you that these bright etchings which you see all around you, are relics of the *Qafilas* of your forefathers. Do not forget them. Do not forsake them. Live like their worthy inheritors, and, rest assured, that if you do not wish to flee from this scene, nobody can make you flee. Come, today let us pledge that this country is ours, we belong to it and any fundamental decision about its destiny will remain incomplete without our consent.

Today, you fear the earth's tremors; once you were virtually the earthquake itself. Today, you fear the darkness; once your existence was the epicenter of radiance. Clouds have poured dirty waters and you have hitched up your trousers. Those were none but your forefathers who not only plunged headlong into the seas, but trampled the mountains, laughed at the bolts of lightning, turned away the tornados, challenged the tempests and made them alter their course. It is a sure sign of a dying faith that those who had once grabbed the collars of emperors, are, today, clutching at their own throats. They have become oblivious of the existence of God as if they had never believed in Him.

Brothers! I do not have a new prescription for you. I have the same old prescription that was revealed to the greatest benefactor of mankind, the prescription of the Holy Quran:

"Do not fear and do not grieve. If you possess true faith, you will gain the upper hand."

The congregation is now at an end. What I had to say, I have said, briefly. Let me say once again, keep a grip on your senses. Learn to create your own surroundings, your own world. This is not a commodity that I can buy for you from the market-place. This can be bought only from the market-place of the heart, provided you can pay for it with the currency of good deeds.

May God's grace be on you.





## **PART III**

**Summing-up: 1947-1958**  
**The Post-Independence Phase**



# Education and Religion

**“Our present difficulties, unlike those of Europe, are not creations of materialistic zealots, but of religious fanatics. If we want to overcome them, the solution lies not in rejecting religious instruction in elementary stages, but in imparting sound and healthy religious education under our direct supervision so that misguided credence may not affect the children in their plastic stage.”**

## Education and Religion \*

On the occasion of this fourteenth session of the Central Advisory Board of Education I accord my sincere welcome to you. Historically speaking, it is the fourteenth session as thirteen have already been held. But to be more accurate, I think, we should call it the Inaugural Session of the Board, since the first thirteen took place during British rule which on August 15, 1947, came to an end, and with it a long chapter of Indian history. Today we are assembled in a new India which has yet to make its history.

I believe it will not be out of place to mention that the change in the political situation has greatly affected the temper and nature of the work which we have undertaken. The scales in which, until now, the educational problems were weighed by this Board have grown out of date. New scales with new weights will have to be substituted. The dimensions of the national problems of the day cannot now be judged by the measurements which have been employed so far. The new aspirations of New India will require a fresh outlook and new measures to tackle its problems.

With whatever depth of vision and sympathetic imagination the Board might have tackled the educational problems in the past, it could not escape the fact that there was no free national government to support it. In spite of its desire to have the fullest scope to fulfil its mandate, it had to keep itself somewhat in restraint. Now things have changed. The nation, (about the educational problems of which you are going to deliberate) has its own government at your disposal. The government, in turn, expects you, too, to offer your views with the same tenacity of purpose and breadth of vision as are guiding the administration today.

If we want to adopt new measures with fresh determination and redoubled efforts, it should not mean that we do not acknowledge the past services of the Board. Its lengthy reports covering thousands of pages are a record of the zeal and ability with which the task was handled in the

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\* Presidential speech delivered at the Fourteenth Session of the Central Advisory Board of Education, New Delhi, January 13, 1948. , *Speeches of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: 1947-1955*. trans. by the Publications Division, Government of India.

past thirteen years and the present-day educational activities of the country bear testimony to it. Probably the most valuable service rendered by the Board was the preparation of the scheme of Basic Education in 1944. It was the first occasion in the history of British India when the problem of elementary education was presented in its true aspect. A scheme was then initiated which contained the elements of broad outlook and bold action, the two things which were least expected in the then prevailing circumstances. The name of Sir John Sargent who was our Educational Adviser is intimately connected with the scheme because of the prominent part he took in framing it. I am glad that he will continue to remain in our country though at the moment he is away and unable to be present at this session.

Now we have to think how far this scheme can be adapted to suit the changed circumstances and how soon obstacles in our way can be removed. But I will not discuss this question at this time, as an educational conference which is to tackle such problems has been called to meet here as soon as this session is over. We shall have enough opportunity of discussing these questions there.

There is, however, a particular aspect of the question to which I will invite your attention. In connection with the scheme of the Basic Education the question of religious instruction had cropped up at the time. Two committees of the Board pondered over it but they were unable to come to an agreed decision. I should like this question to be reconsidered in the light of the changed circumstances. For our country this question has a special importance.

It is already known to you that the nineteenth century liberal point of view concerning the imparting of religious education has already lost weight. Even after the World War I a new approach had begun to assert itself, and the intellectual revolution brought about in the wake of the World War II has given it a decisive shape. At first it was considered that religions would stand in the way of the free intellectual development of a child, but now it has been admitted that religious education cannot altogether be dispensed with. If national education was stripped of this element, there would be no appreciation of moral values or moulding of character along human lines. It must be known to you that Russia had to give up its ideology during the last World War. The British Government also had to amend its educational system in 1944.

So far as India is concerned, the problem presents itself in an entirely different shape. Europe and America felt the need for religious education, as it was observed that without religious influences people became too rational. But so far as it works in the Indian context we have to face the obverse side of this factor. We have no fear that people will become ultra-rational. On the contrary we are surrounded by over-religiosity. Our present difficulties, unlike those of Europe, are not creations of materialistic zealots but of religious fanatics. If we want to overcome them, the



solution lies not in rejecting religious instruction in elementary stages, but in imparting sound and healthy religious education under our direct supervision so that misguided credence may not affect the children in their plastic stage.

It is obvious that millions of Indians are not prepared to see their children brought up in an irreligious atmosphere. I am sure, you too, will agree with them. What will be the consequence if the Government undertakes to impart purely secular education? Naturally, people will try to provide religious education to their children through private sources. How these private sources are working today or are likely to work in future is already known to you. I know something about it and can say that not only in villages but even in cities the imparting of religious education is entrusted to teachers who though literate are not educated. To them religion means nothing but bigotry. The method of education, too, is such in which there is no scope for broad and liberal outlook. It is quite plain, then, that the children will not be able to expunge the ideas driven into them, in their early stage, whatever liberal education may be given to them at a later stage. If we want to safeguard the intellectual life of our country against this danger, it becomes all the more necessary for us not to leave the imparting of early religious education to private sources. We should rather take it under our direct care and supervision. No doubt, a foreign government had to keep itself away from religious education. But a national government cannot divest itself of this responsibility. To mould the growing mind of the nation along the right lines is its primary duty. In India, we cannot make an intellectual mould without religion.

If religious instruction is to be a part of Basic Education, what will be its proportion? How is it to be managed? These are questions which should be thoroughly considered. Indeed, there will be difficulties in the way. A solution will have to be found. But I need not go into details. If the main issue is settled, details can be worked out later. In any case, I request you to appoint a committee to go into the question *ab novo*. It may be authorised to send its recommendations directly to the Government.

There is another problem on which you have to take a final decision now. What is to be the medium of instruction in our educational institutions? I am sure there are two things with which you will agree. Firstly, that in future English cannot remain the medium of instruction. Secondly, whatever the change contemplated in this direction, it should not be sudden but gradual. In my opinion, so far as higher education is concerned, we should come to the decision that the *status quo* may be preserved for five years. But along with it a provision may be made by the universities to accommodate the coming change. I should like you, after due deliberation, to make your suggestions to the Government.

In this connection a fundamental question arises with regard to Indian languages. How is the change to be brought about? Is university education

to be imparted through a common Indian language or the provinces may be given an opportunity to have their own regional language for university teaching? English was a foreign language. We were greatly handicapped by having it as our medium of instruction. But we also greatly benefited in one way that all the educated people in the country thought and expressed themselves in the same language. It cemented national unity. It was such a great boon to us that I should have advocated its retention as the medium of instruction, had it not been fundamentally wrong to impart education through a foreign language. Obviously, I should desist from offering this advice. I put it to you, if only recently a Madrasi or a Punjabi or a Bengali felt no difficulty in receiving education through a foreign language, why should he be handicapped if he were to be educated through one of the Indian languages. If instead of English we adopt an Indian language, we shall certainly be able to retain the same intellectual unity which was created for us by the English language. But if we fail to substitute an Indian language for English, our intellectual unity will certainly be affected.

The alternative course before us is to have regional languages for university teaching and one common compulsory language for the central government and for inter-provincial communication. Anyhow it is necessary that you should come to a final decision on this point after discussion and deliberation.



# **Aligarh and Indian Nationalism**

**“The educational set-up for a secular and democratic state must be secular. It should provide for all citizens of the state the same type of education without any distinction.”**

## Aligarh and Indian Nationalism\*

In accepting the invitation extended so cordially by your Vice-Chancellor to come and address the annual convocation of Aligarh University, it was natural that my thoughts should turn to the occasion when I first came in contact with it. That was thirty-six years ago and took place in circumstances which represented me to many as an opponent of this institution.

The facts of the case were, however, entirely different. It was a time when the Indian Muslims not only stood aloof from all political movements of the day but were inclined to oppose the country's struggle for freedom. The single largest factor responsible for such political inertia of the Indian Muslims was the lead which the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, founder of this institution, had given in the last quarter of the 19th century. The Aligarh party which continued his policy tried to keep the Muslims out of the Indian National Congress, was generally successful except in the case of a few distinguished individuals.

It was against this background that I brought out the *Al-Hilal* in 1912. From the beginning of my political life, I was convinced that the Indian Muslims must participate in the movement for emancipation, and work towards that end through the National Congress. It was inevitable that I should criticise the political lead which the late Sir Syed Ahmed had given and which represented the policy of the Aligarh party. I, therefore, clashed with this party on this political issue. This was regarded by its members as opposition not only to the founder's political policy but to the institution itself. In fact, some of them went so far as to look upon me not only as an opponent but an enemy of Sir Syed and of Aligarh.

Nothing, however, was farther from the truth. It is true that I regarded the political lead of Sir Syed as a grave blunder but at the same time I had the highest admiration for the educational and other reforms which he carried out. I regarded, and still regard him as one of the greatest Indians of the 19th century. His achievements in the field of education and social

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\* Convocation Address delivered on 20 February, 1949, at the Aligarh Muslim University. *Speeches of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: 1948-1955*, Publications Division, Government of India.

reform could not, however, blind me to the wrong lead he gave to the Indian Muslims in the field of politics. Thirty-six years have passed since then but as I survey the course of events during this period, I find no reason to revise my judgement on this issue. I then held and still hold that Sir Syed was a great reformer in the educational and social fields, but the wrong lead he gave in politics has been responsible for many of the ills from which we have suffered. It is, however, not my purpose today to discuss the political role, but to pay my tribute to the memory of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the educational reformer, who laid the foundation of modern education among the Indian Muslims.

Today, Western education has become part of our national life and we naturally think of it when we use the term 'education'. It is, therefore, difficult to realise the opposition and struggle which the reformers, who wanted to introduce this new education in India, faced a hundred years ago. Not only did they have to blaze a new trail, but had to contend with obstacles and difficulties at every step. They had to face all those forces which any movement for reform has to face. The prejudices and superstitions of ages clouded the minds of the people. Accepted beliefs and age-old sentiments were both against such a change. The cry of religion supplied the opponents of progress with one of their most potent weapons. The path of religion is not, in fact, opposed to that of reason and knowledge but unfortunately this has often been represented to be so. The usual cry was that Western education was opposed to the teachings of religion and those who held religion dear must therefore adhere to the old education.

Human thought has had to face this conflict at different times in different countries. Europe went through this struggle in the 17th and 18th centuries while the Eastern countries faced this conflict in the 19th century. The Hindus of India faced this struggle earlier and ended it quickly. Among the Muslims, it took a longer time but in the end the inevitable happened. The forces of change triumphed and the new order had to replace the old. So far as the Muslims of India are concerned, one can assert without any fear of contradiction that the man who played the most important role in this struggle is the presiding spirit of this University. The battle was fought here in Aligarh, and Aligarh is a visible embodiment of the victory of the forces of progress.

Some of our writers have compared Sir Syed Ahmed Khan with Raja Ram Mohun Roy. To a large extent the comparison is valid. What Raja Ram Mohun Roy did for Bengal was done by Sir Syed Ahmed, forty years later, for northern India, and especially for the Muslims of the country. The only difference between the two is that the main reforms of Raja Ram Mohun Roy were in the field of religion while those of Sir Syed were in the field of education. They have, however, left the stamp of their personality in all spheres of intellectual activity. Religion, education, social life.



language, literature and journalism bear witness to their spirit of reform and creative energy.

We have also to remember that even though Sir Syed was opposed to the political movement of the Congress, there was not the least tinge of communal politics in his attitude. His activities even in the political field comprised both Hindus and Muslims. Throughout his life he was a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity. He opposed whatever was in any way likely to cause dissension or difference between them. In his speeches, again and again, he used the beautiful metaphor that Hindus and Muslims were the two eyes on Mother India's face.

We can form some idea of his outlook on Indian nationalism from the significance he gave to the term 'Hindu'. In addressing an association of Hindus in Lahore he said, "I am sorry that you have restricted in this manner the application of the term 'Hindu'. You have applied it to a particular religious group. But to my mind this application is wrong. I count as Hindus all those who are the inhabitants of this country whatever be their religion or race. This is the reason why I take pride in the fact that I am a Hindu." If the Hindus and Muslims of India had understood the spirit of this teaching and followed it, the whole course of recent events would have taken a different turn.

Sir Syed laid the foundations of this educational institution with a specific object. He had been impressed by the spirit of English education and realised that its excellence lay not merely in imparting instruction but in training of a special kind. The peculiarity of this training was that it developed the character of young men and women and gave them a distinct stamp. He also felt that along with European education, the Muslims must have religious instruction and training. He knew that without such provision the new education would not be popular among the Muslims. He realised that his objectives could not be achieved without a special institution for the purpose. He, therefore, dedicated the remaining years of his life to the creation of the Aligarh College. We must remember that this was the first institution in India which sought to create the atmosphere of a British Public School.

The scheme he had in mind initially was the establishment of a residential university along the lines of Cambridge. He had to, however, content himself with the establishment of only a college. Considering the prevalent conditions, this was no mean achievement. The movement for the University was started after his death as a memorial to him and was accomplished after hard labour of some twenty years.

Sir Syed had established in Aligarh not only a college but an intellectual and cultural centre, in harmony with the progressive spirit of the times. At the centre of this circle was Sir Syed himself and around him some of the best intellects of the day. Perhaps no journal in India has ever had such influence upon the mind of this generation as his *Tehzib-ul-Akhlaq*. Sir

Syed founded this journal after returning from his tour in England. He and his colleagues were its main contributors. This journal laid the foundation of modern Urdu literature and developed the language so that today it is capable of expressing the highest and most abstruse thoughts. Perhaps, there was not a single literary figure among the Muslims of the day who was not influenced by his circle. The best Muslim authors of the modern age were nourished here. Here developed the new schools of research, interpretation and reconstruction of Muslim thought. Though modern Urdu poetry was born in Lahore, it was here that it found the atmosphere most conducive to its growth. Poems of a new style were composed and read at the sessions of the Mohammedan Education Conference. This was also the first forum for Urdu oratory. All the important speakers of the day were created or nurtured on this platform.

The 19th century was for India, as for other regions in the East, a transitional age. The old forms of life and thought were being demolished and new ones set up in their place. The old earth of India was being moulded into a new form. So far as the Indian Muslims are concerned, one can say that it was in Aligarh that these movements of reform were consummated. It was one of the regions which took the lead in the creation of a new India. The 19th century marked a period of renaissance for the Indian spirit and Aligarh was one of the centres of such renaissance.

It is true that with the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Aligarh lost many of its distinctive features. Though the College was raised to the status of a University, it could not revive the traditions of its early glory. Nevertheless, you must remember that this glorious heritage is yours, and it is for you to revive the past splendour of Aligarh. The inscriptions which have been carved on the walls of your Strachy Hall may fade with the passage of time, but the inscriptions which Aligarh has written on the modern period of Indian history can never fade. Future historians will discover in Aligarh one of the main sources of contribution to the evolution of modern India.

An educational institution which has such a glorious past must necessarily hold the promise of an equally glorious future. I am not aware what the state of your minds is today, nor in what colours the future appears to you. Does it bring to you the message of closing doors or of opening gates that introduce you to new vistas of experience? I do not know what visions are before you, but I will tell you what visions I see. You perhaps feel that doors that were open have been closed. I see that doors that were locked have now opened. In the words of the Persian poet.

*Tawafut ast miyan-e-shunidan-e-man-o-tu*

*Tu bostan-e-dar-o-man fatehbab mi shunawan.*

What you and I hear are different. You hear the sound  
Of closing doors but I of doors that open.

I want that I should speak to you frankly and without mental reservations and I am sure that this is what you would expect of me. If I thought that you were still living in the atmosphere of communal politics which was prevalent before August, 1947, I would, without hesitation, say that your future does not hold that promise which, as an Indian Muslim, I would like you to have. I am glad that there has been a profound change since then and the signs of a new era are becoming clearer every day. You have realised in good time what the intellectual atmosphere of this institution must be in the changed circumstances of today. You have responded to the call of the new times and created conditions which are in conformity with the changed outlook. I have no hesitation in saying that by conforming to the spirit of the times, you have rendered a great service not only to this institution but to all Muslims of the Indian Union. For this, I extend to you my sincere congratulations.

I would like to describe to you briefly the central government's plan and programme of national education and the place which an institution like Aligarh University will have in that new scheme. I think you will agree that the educational set-up for a secular and democratic state must be secular. It should provide for all citizens of the state the same type of education without any distinction. It should have its own intellectual flavour and its own national character. It should have as its aim the ideal of human progress and prosperity. The Indian Union has set before itself such a scheme of common education for all, without distinction or discrimination in favour of any community or group.

At the same time, it recognises that there is scope for educational institutions which emphasize certain special types of learning. Their doors should, however, be open to all who are interested in such studies. This is the sphere of national education in which your institution can find its proper place in conformity with the spirit of the times. In this way, you will, despite your special characteristics, be a part of the general scheme of education and serve a special function in it. For this you must, however, display the widest catholicity of spirit. It is said that Plato had the following text inscribed on his Academy: "Those who do not know Geometry, have no place here." Your motto should be that you will welcome both those who "know Geometry" and those who "do not".

I am aware that the governing principle in your institution has, from the very beginning, been wide and liberal. When your college was founded, the very first batch of students included Hindus as well as Muslims. Your staff has also been recruited from all communities. The names of certain professors have become part of your institution's history. I am sure that these traditions will be broadened and further enriched in course of time.

Study and research in Islamic learning and Islamic history has been part of your tradition. I must say that, after the death of Sir Syed, it no longer displayed the vigour it had during his days. Even after the University was

established, old hopes were not fulfilled. Your duty today is to revive those old traditions and to create in your University an atmosphere of research and enquiry into all the spheres of knowledge.

I have already reminded you that Aligarh was the place where modern Urdu literature developed. This is an achievement of which your University can be rightly proud. It is your duty to cherish this heritage and further enrich it. I must, however, remind you that your literary efforts must have a wider field than in the past. You should take an equal interest in Hindi literature. Muslims have been noted for their interest in different languages and literatures. Hindi literature has the same claim on the Muslims as on the Hindus of India. Both the communities have contributed equally to the development of Urdu and Hindi literatures. The new literature in Brij Bhasha which commenced in the Mughal period was the result of the patronage of rulers like Akbar and Jehangir and the contributions of writers of genius like Mohammad Jayesi, Khan-e-Khanan and Abdul Jalil Bilgrami. We find that up to the end of the 18th century, the number of Muslim poets who wrote in Brij Bhasha is considerable. The time has come when you must revive that old tradition. I desire that this institution should produce a large number of writers who are equally at home with Hindi and Urdu literature.

The question of script is one of the controversial problems of today. You know what the opinion of Gandhiji was in this respect. His sincere desire was that every Indian should know both the Urdu and the Devanagari scripts. That is why he founded the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, and made it an essential condition that its workers should know both the scripts. This has also been my opinion for years. I feel that this is the only solution which is possible in the present circumstances. I hope that the lovers of Urdu literature will not wait to find out the reaction of the advocates of Hindi literature, but will themselves do what they regard as conducive to the best interests of the country. In every other sphere of life, one may wait to see what others do, but in the field of learning we can wait for others only at the risk of detracting from our credit. If others are content to know only one script, we need not be sorry that we have learnt two. My sincere desire is that every Muslim in India should learn both the scripts, and thus set an example before the country. This was the message of Mahatma Gandhi, and I am confident that Muslims will accept it with enthusiasm.

I am glad to find that there is already a recognition of the importance of such work on all sides, and that books have been written in Urdu which make it easy to learn Devanagari script and become familiar with Hindi literature. Some organisations have been set up in different parts of the country for this purpose. They have already started their activities. I am sure that you have realised the importance of this work and your institution will be recognised as one of its most active centres.

I will now conclude with a few words of advice to the young graduates

who have taken their degress today and are entering into the responsibilities of life. You have yourselves, no doubt, felt the tremendous changes which have taken place since the days you entered the portals of this University. When you first joined this institution, you were members of a subject nation. Today you are leaving this university as free citizens of Independent India. I am not sure whether all of you appreciate fully the extent of this tremendous change. As members of a subject nation you suffered many disabilities. As citizens of a free state you enter into new responsibilities. The widening of opportunities which freedom has brought has also necessarily brought with it the need for greater loyalty and devotion to your state. Today, there are no limits to what you can achieve but this very fact imposes upon you the duties which freedom brings.

You are the citizens of a free India - a state which is determined to develop its political and social life on secular and democratic lines. The essence of a secular and democratic state is freedom of opportunity for the individual regardless of race, religion, caste or community. As members of such a state, you have therefore the right - provided you have the necessary qualities of character and attainment - to expect all doors to open to you, whether in the fields of politics, trade, industry, service or the profession. There is no gainsaying the fact that in the past many of the alumni of this institution looked to nothing but employment under the Government. Freedom must bring in a widening of the mind and an enlargement of your ambitions. You must, therefore, look forward in a free India to the utilisation of your talents in the manner best suited to the needs of the nation.

I have no doubt in my mind that if you can imbibe this spirit of progressive nationalism which is the motto of our secular democratic state, there will be no position in any field of life that will be beyond your reach. I would, therefore, urge you to develop and strengthen your character and acquire knowledge that will fit you to play your rightful part for the future progress and prosperity of the country.

# **Introduction to**

## ***History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western***

**“Knowledge is above all limitations and boundaries. Whatever be the region of the globe where it first emerged, it is the common heritage of all mankind. All human beings, regardless of country or nationality, can lay claim to it with equal right.”**



# Introduction\*

A Persian poet has compared the universe to an old manuscript of which the first and the last pages have been lost. It is no longer possible to say how the book began, nor do we know how it is likely to end:

*Maz aghazo za anjam-i-jahan bekhavar em  
Awwal-o-akhir ein ik kuhna kitab uftad ast.*

Ever since man attained consciousness, he has been trying to discover these lost pages. Philosophy is the name of this quest and its results. A philosopher writes volumes to describe philosophy and its nature; but the poet has done so in a single couplet.

The purpose of this quest is to find out the meaning of life and existence. As soon as man attained self-consciousness and began to think, two questions arose in his mind; what is the meaning of his life, and what is the nature of the universe he sees all around? We do not know how long he groped blindly in diverse directions, but a stage came when he adopted a definite course and started to advance along the path of thought and reason. This was the beginning of systematic speculation. From the day human intellect reached that stage is dated the birth of philosophy, and from that moment the history of philosophy begins.

## History of Philosophy

Until the 18th century, the pattern which European histories of philosophy followed was similar to what was adopted by Arab historians and philosophers of the medieval ages. They did not study the progress of

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\* In 1947, at an Educational Conference called in Delhi, Maulana spoke about the need for a new history of philosophy, with a modern approach. An Editorial Board was formed under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India. The work produced was entitled *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*, in two volumes. On 4 May, 1953, Maulana wrote to Allen and Unwin in London, asking permission for his Introduction to be published in *The Hindustan Times*. Maulana's original Urdu version is not available. The above is a translation. The author of this translation is unknown.

philosophy from a philosophical standpoint but compiled for the benefit of those who were interested, a record of philosophers and their schools. In truth, they wrote not histories of philosophy but histories of philosophers. It was at the beginning of the 19th century that histories of philosophy, as we know them today, were first written, and ever since, the pattern then adopted has generally been followed.

Since then, there have been great advances in the study of the history of philosophy. Scholars of many nations have written important books, but when reading them, one fact has always attracted my notice. I have felt that the prevailing accounts of the origin of philosophy and its division into different compartments do not give a full or true picture. There is, therefore, need for a more comprehensive account of the general history of philosophy.

Some of the pages of this history have been lost in a manner which makes restoration impossible. The sources of information about them are no longer accessible. We know that Egypt and Iraq had developed a high degree of civilisation long before Greece. We also know that early Greek philosophy was deeply influenced by the ancient wisdom of Egypt. Plato in his writings refers to Egyptian maxims in a way which suggests that their authority as sources of knowledge was unquestioned. Aristotle went further and said that the Egyptian priests were the first philosophers of the world. But we do not know the details of the relationship between Egypt and Greece. Not only are we ignorant of them, but we have little hope of ever finding out. Similarly, we have no definite knowledge about the nature and scope of the philosophical speculations that developed in the civilisations of Babylon and Nineveh. Nor do we know whether these speculations were in any way responsible for the birth of Greek philosophy. These lacunae in the history of philosophy are due to gaps in our knowledge which are not likely to be filled.

There are, however, certain other regions of ancient history of which we have fuller knowledge today. This enables us to draw a more accurate outline of the growth of philosophy. The increase in our knowledge of ancient Indian history has opened to us a new source of information about ancient philosophical developments. It has thus become possible to trace the rise of philosophy to a period earlier than the Greeks, and to determine the nature and scope of its development at that stage. We have, however, failed until now to pay adequate attention to these developments, and still cling to the limited vision of the history of philosophy which has prevailed since the 19th century.

European philosophy originated in the philosophical enquiries of Greece. Its progress was retarded after the spread of Christianity, and there was a stage when philosophy disappeared from the European scene. After a gap of some centuries, the Arabs began the study of Greek philosophy in the eighth century A.D. Later, through their agency, its study

was revived in Europe. These studies, in course of time, led to that movement of enlightenment which is generally described as the European Renaissance. During this period, Europe secured direct access to the original Greek texts which, until now, she had known only through the works of Arab translators and commentators. After the Renaissance, began the movement of thought to which we can trace the rise of modern philosophy. The history of philosophy in Europe is often divided into four periods: (1) Ancient (2) Medieval (3) Renaissance and (4) Modern.

When, in the 19th century, European scholars attempted to draw a general outline of the history of philosophy, they took into account this division into periods. The impact of Christianity on the European mind was partly responsible for such a division. European scholars tend to interpret the whole course of human development from the standpoint of the emergence of Christianity. Thus they divide human history into two broad periods, pre-Christian and post-Christian, and subdivide the latter into pre and post-Reformation. Historians of philosophy, like Erdmann, have sought to designate periods in the development of philosophy on the same basis. Thus, according to Erdmann, the periods of philosophy are, first, the pre-Christian Greek, second, the post-Christian Medieval, and third, the post-Reformation Modern period.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that this was not an account of the general history of philosophy but only of the history of Western philosophy. Since, however, Indian and Chinese philosophy had not yet fully come to light, this limited picture took the place of a general history, and, in course of time, came to be accepted as such. All the histories of philosophy written during the 19th century, whether textbooks for students, or for the general reader, repeated the same story. This limited view of the history of philosophy became so engrained in our minds that we were unable to expel it despite the new knowledge revealed by later research. Whenever we thought of a history of philosophy, it was this limited picture that came before us. We cannot otherwise explain the manner in which a scholar like Thilly, writing in the second decade of this century, dismisses the contribution of the Orient and starts his account of the development of systematic philosophy with the Greeks.<sup>2</sup>

Such an account of philosophy is incomplete not only in respect of its beginning but also in respect of several later periods. Our view of the progress of philosophy has been so influenced by this Western concept of three or four periods that we are unable to see it in any other perspective. Historically, it is generally recognised that long before the Christian era began, Buddhist metaphysical thought had crystallized into a definite school of philosophy. If we study the progress of philosophy during those times it becomes necessary to consider developments in India, along with

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<sup>1</sup> *History of Philosophy*, J.B. Erdman, p.9.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Philosophy*, Frank Thilly, p.3.

the philosophical thought of Greece. A comparative study of the nature and the scope of the philosophical discourses in India and Greece would thus have been of great interest. The standard histories of philosophy are, however, so accustomed to considering only European philosophy that they overlook the contribution of the Orient. Since the beginning of the 20th century, our knowledge is no longer confined to Greece, having entered the realm where the wealth of Indian and Chinese philosophy lay concealed. This knowledge, even now, is limited to a circle of specialists, and has not found the place it deserves in the general history of philosophy.

Undoubtedly, some recent writers have realised the limitation of the old conception. Attempts are being made to produce in place of the old sectional histories of philosophy, a more complete account. Bertrand Russell has recently written a history of philosophy which resembles the nineteenth century histories, but he recognises its limitations by calling it *A History of Western Philosophy*. It cannot, however, be said that the old limited concept of the history of philosophy has been fully replaced by a new and more complete account. Nor can we say that Oriental philosophy has secured in the general history of philosophy the position it deserves. Time has now come when with the material we already possess we must attempt to write a comprehensive history in which the contribution of the East and the West will, alike, receive proper recognition.

### **The Earliest Sources of Philosophy**

A basic question that arises in this connection is that of the beginnings of philosophy. Where should we start the story? In Greece or India? In other words, which country contains the traces of the earliest development of philosophy?

So far as Greek philosophy is concerned, we are aware of some of its earliest phases. It has been generally recognised that philosophical speculations in Greece cannot be traced earlier than the 6th century B.C. The first Greek thinker whom we can appropriately describe as a philosopher was Thales. A specific incident has helped us to determine his chronology. It is said that he had predicted through his calculations the correct time of an eclipse which took place in 585 B.C. Two men who after Thales gave a new turn to the development of philosophical thought in Greece were Pythagoras and Socrates. Pythagoras lived about 532 B.C. and the date of Socrates' death is 399 B.C.

When, however, we look at the India of the 6th century B.C., we see a completely different picture. During this period India witnessed not only the beginning but the development of philosophical thought. It was not a case of the dawn of philosophy as in Greece but what may be described as the full glow of the philosophical day. It was not the first faltering steps of the human intellect along the long and arduous way of philosophical quest, but a stage which could have been reached only after

the completion of a complex journey.

In any discussion of this period, two facts are brought to our attention.

- (i) The emergence of Buddhism and Jainism took place in this epoch.
- (ii) Prior to Buddha and Mahavira, there had already been considerable development of philosophical thought, and systems had emerged which reflected a long period of wide and deep philosophical speculation.

Gautama Buddha occupies a peculiar place among the greatest men of the world. It is debatable whether we should place him in the category of prophets or of philosophers? In other words, what was the purpose of his teaching? Was it a new revelation or was it a new philosophical discovery? Despite a long controversy, both philosophy and religion continue to claim Buddha. I do not want to repeat that controversy but it seems clear to me that it is easier to see him in the role of a philosopher than in that of the prophet. He started his enquiries in order to solve the problem of life, not to search for the existence of God. Similarly, his quest ended with a solution of that problem and not with the nature or the existence of God. He broke away from that religious life of India which believed in innumerable gods and goddesses. He sought and found the consummation of his quest without mediation of the concept of God. The principle on which he based his speculative enquiries was itself philosophic. He believed that the goal of human endeavour was to find a solution of the problem of life and this could be done without recourse to *Dieu ex Machina*. It is true that soon after his death, his followers transformed his teachings into a full-fledged religious cult. When they found that he had left unfilled the place normally assigned to God in religion, they placed the Buddha himself on the vacant throne of the deity. This was, however, a development for which Buddha was not responsible.

Jainism also started about the same time and was even more indifferent to the existence of God. Like the Buddha, Mahavira also sought an answer to the riddle of existence without any reference to the existence of God. The intellectual constructions of the Jains are based on principles which properly belong to the world of philosophy.

I am anxious that readers should give a special thought not merely to the personality of Gautama Buddha or Mahavira but to the speculative background which made their emergence possible. It is a study of this background which is very important to the historian of philosophy. The fact that India, in the 6th century B.C., could exhibit the method and approach of Gautama Buddha and Mahavira is evidence that the country had developed a widespread and deep philosophical insight. An atmosphere existed in which different theories and interpretations of the mysteries of life could develop. A stage had also been reached where these problems could be solved without assuming the existence of God or the



revelation of His will.

Such a philosophic temper did not emerge in Greece until much later. Ionian philosophy, which is one of the earliest of the Greek schools, believed in a theory of souls informing the planets and other stellar bodies. These can hardly be distinguished from the gods and goddesses of popular mythology. Located on the peak of Mount Olympus, they were the gods of religion. When, however, the same gods put on a philosophic garb and mounted the heavens, they acquired the philosophic title of Intelligences of the Spheres. This tendency of Ionian philosophy continued in all the later schools of Greek thought. If the "heavenly souls" of Aristotle are subjected to proper scrutiny, it will become evident that they are not very different from the old Hellenic gods. It is true that Socrates protested against the worship of gods but even he was not able to erase the influence of the popular concept of gods.

If, after a general survey of the history of philosophy and religion elsewhere, we turn to study the way in which the Indian intellect reacted to its problems, we find ourselves faced with entirely new approach. Elsewhere, philosophy and religion pursued distinct and different paths; though at times their paths crossed and influenced each other, the two never merged. In India, it is not always possible to differentiate between the two. Unlike Greece, philosophy in India was not confined to the halls of the Academies, but became the religion of millions.

The solutions which Gautama Buddha and Mahavira had found for the problems of existence were, as we have already seen, basically philosophical, but their teachings created religious communities in the same way as the preaching of the Semetic prophets. Socrates was, in many respects, a unique character among the Greek philosophers. He was essentially a philosopher but to call him only a philosopher does not fully describe his personality. When we think of him, we are reminded of Jesus Christ. What we know of the events of his life has close affinity with the life of the prophets of Israel and the yogis of India. He was often in a trance. He also believed in an oracle or inner voice which guided him in all moments of crisis. When, in his last days, he was addressing the court in Athens, he was guided by the behest of this inner voice. Socrates has been nevertheless classed among philosophers. His followers did not try to create a religious community around his personality or his teachings. This shows the difference between the Indian and the Greek spirit. In Greece elements of religion acquired the characteristic of philosophy; in India philosophy was itself turned into religion.

The distinction we have drawn between philosophy and religion cannot, therefore, describe accurately the Indian situation. If we try to apply to India the criterion which distinguishes philosophy from religion, we will either have to change the criterion itself or recognise that in India philosophy and religion have pursued the same path.



## Mysticism and Philosophy

The earliest Indian philosophy is to be found in the distinct mystic and religious tone of the Upanishads. This should not lead us to the erroneous conclusion of Zeller or Erdmann, that early Indian philosophy should be excluded from an account of empirical or rational philosophy.<sup>3</sup> It is true that so long as mysticism is the experience of an individual, we cannot apply to it the tests of philosophical enquiry. But when an attempt is made to build up a logical system of speculation on the basis of such experience, it must not only be included within the province of philosophy but may well constitute an important part of it. If we do not apply to it the name of philosophy, there is hardly any other term which can describe it.

What is philosophy? Philosophy is an enquiry into the nature of life and existence. We have two ways of dealing with reality. One starts and ends with revelation and tradition; we call it religion. The second depends on the free exercise of reason and thought, and is called philosophy.

From the earliest times philosophical enquiry has adopted one of two alternate ways of approaching its problems. One is through the world of man's inner being, and the other through the world external to him. The characteristic of Indian thought is that it has paid greater attention to the inner world of man than to the outer world. It does not begin with an investigation into phenomenon and then reach towards the inner reality. On the contrary, it starts from a realisation of the inner world and then reaches out to the world of phenomenon. It was this way of approach that revealed itself in the philosophy of the Upanishads. In Greece also, the earlier schools of philosophy had adopted a similar procedure or at least it was not excluded from their general approach. What we know of Orphic or Pythagorean philosophy tends to support this statement. The dialectical method of Socrates was, no doubt, logical but he declared that he was guided by an inner voice.

Like Indian philosophy, the message of some Greek philosophers also was *Know Thyself*. In Plato's idealism we find the germs for the future development of mysticism, as well as of the knowledge of the inner self, but his disciple, Aristotle, did not choose to develop either of these lines of thought. Ultimately, however, mysticism came to fruition in Alexandria and culminated in the philosophy of Neo-Platonism. We cannot say definitely whether the Upanished philosophy of India was responsible for the development of this Alexandrian school. We know, however, that Alexandria had in that era become the meeting place for the religions and civilisations of the East and the West. Just as gods of different religions had met in its market place, which led to the foundation of the Serapeum, it

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<sup>3</sup> J.B. Erdman, *History of Philosophy*, p.13.

B. Zeller, *Outline of the History of Greek Philosophy*, p. 2.

seems probable that the different streams of human thought and enquiry also met here and mingled in one common current.

What is the basic principle of mysticism? It is that the knowledge of reality cannot be obtained through the senses. If we are to reach reality, we must withdraw from the world of sense into that of inner experience. This principle, in some form or another, worked in the philosophical system from Pythagoras to Plato. Plato made a sharp distinction between the world of thought and the world of sense. He expressed their difference by the analogy of the distinction between the light of midday and twilight. According to him, whatever we perceive through the intellect is seen in the clear light of day. He emphasizes, again and again, the distinction between Appearance and Reality. The senses can reach us only up to the world of Appearance but not to the world of Reality. He expresses the ultimate real as the *Good*. Science, Knowledge and Truth deal with ideas which are *like the Good* but it is only the *Good* that is ultimately real. We cannot reach the real through the mediation of sense. The famous parable of the cave-dwellers which he relates in *The Republic* is the final statement of his philosophy. Though he does not speak of intuitive reason on which the Upanishad philosophy is based, the way in which he repudiates the objects of experience given through sense perception, brings him very near the attitude of the mystics towards the world of sense.

There is also a second similarity between Indian and Greek philosophy which should not be overlooked. The concept of *Nous* in Greek philosophy is not very dissimilar to that of *Atman* in Indian philosophy. Plato rejected the views of Anaxagoras and distinguished between two souls. He regards one as immortal and the other as mortal. The mortal soul (irrational soul) is not free from the influence of the body. The immortal soul is the idea of the Universe and is free from all influence of the body. This immortal soul is called by him *Universal Soul*. If, therefore, we try to contrast Plato's concept of the mortal soul with that of the immortal soul, it will not be very different from the contrast between *Atman* and *Parmatman* in Indian philosophy.

It will not, therefore, be proper to exclude the Upanished philosophy from a general account of philosophy on the ground that it is mystic. If we do so, we would also have to exclude a major portion of Greek philosophy from any such general account.

We must also remember that what differentiates philosophy from non-philosophy is not difference of subject matter but of method and treatment. If a person's conclusions rest upon the authority of revelation or on individual ecstasy, we would more properly describe his findings as theology or mysticism and not philosophy. If however, he adopts a method of intellectual construction and considers that the mystery of existence must be solved on a rational plane, we cannot exclude him from the rank of philosophers even though religious or mystic beliefs may have

influenced him. Actually, some of the most important materials of philosophy are derived from such discourses.

In Christianity and Islam, there developed certain schools which sought to subordinate philosophy to religion. But their own discussions have, by general consent, been included among philosophical writings. The reason for this is that they sought to defend religion against rationalist attacks by the use of rationalist methods. The discourses of St. Augustine and the later Christian scholastics cannot, therefore, be excluded from philosophical literature. The same remark applies to the writings of the Muslim scholastics. So far as Arab philosophy is concerned, one of the schools of which it can justly be proud will be excluded if we leave out this scholastic literature. Among the Arab philosophers the names of Ibn Sina (Avicenne) and Ibn-al-Rushd (Averoes) are well known but they were not spokesmen of Arab philosophy proper. They were, in fact, followers and commentators of Aristotle. If we want to enquire into Arab philosophy we must turn our eyes away from them and direct ourselves to the writings of the scholastics who were often regarded as the antagonists of Greek philosophy. It is interesting to note that in modern times Bishop Berkeley, who embarked on philosophical speculations in order to establish the truth of religion, has always been counted among the philosophers, and no history of philosophy is complete without an account of his writings.

Nor is Zeller's criticism justified that "Indian philosophy never lost contact with religion and never became independent."<sup>4</sup> He had in mind the veneration in which the Vedas were generally held, but he was probably not aware that there were at least three unorthodox schools which repudiated the authority of the Vedas. Neither Buddhism, nor Jainism nor Charvaka philosophy depends on authority or tradition for its findings. Not only so but even among the orthodox schools, Nyaya and Samkhya philosophies often paid only lip service to the authority of the Vedas. We may, therefore, safely say that in the age of the Buddha, Indian philosophy had already established a position independent of religion.

### **Philosophical Contacts between India and Greece**

There is one other question to which I would like to make a brief reference. If it is an acknowledged fact that philosophy began in India earlier than in Greece, would it be unjustified to suppose that Indian philosophy may have had some influence on the beginnings of Greek philosophy? We know that the civilisations of the Nile and the Euphrates blossomed much before that of Greece. We have also reason to infer that the influence of these civilisations contributed towards the first development of Greek philosophy. Can we not establish similar relations, whether direct or indirect, between India and Greece?

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<sup>4</sup> B. Zeller, *Outline of the History of Greek Philosophy*, p.2.

Present-day historians have discussed this problem, but have not yet reached any valid conclusions. It is true that some of the earliest schools of Greek philosophy exhibit characteristics which have a striking resemblance to Indian modes of thought. Such similarities invite the inference that they were probably due to Indian influence. This applies specially to the Orphic cult. Historians are generally in agreement that it exhibits elements that are essentially non-Hellenic in nature and suggest an Asian origin. The idea that salvation is the liberation of the soul from the body is a central theme in the Orphic cult. Zeller admits that this idea originated in India but nevertheless holds that the Greeks had derived it from Persia.<sup>5</sup> Later research does not indicate that the idea of liberation or *moksha* was an essential element in Zarathustra's faith. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to suppose that this concept travelled from India to Greece and influenced the early Greek schools directly or indirectly.

It was an accepted belief in Greece that a journey to the East was necessary for the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom. It is recorded of various philosophers, that they travelled to the East in quest of knowledge. We read of Democritus that he spent a long period in Egypt and Persia. Of Pythagoras it is said that when he left his home in Samos, he travelled to Egypt. It is wellknown that Solon and Plato had also travelled extensively in the East. It would, therefore, not be surprising if Pythagoras or some other Greek philosopher of this early period had travelled to India. But there is no historical evidence of such visit. It has, however, been generally recognised that the philosophy of Pythagoras contains elements which are characteristically Indian. The similarity is so marked that if we describe his philosophy without mentioning his name, a student of Indian philosophy could easily mistake it to be the account of an Indian philosopher. How and why this was so remains one of the unsolved problems of the history of philosophy.

We find it stated in the accounts of Alexander that his teacher, Aristotle, had requested him to find out the state of knowledge among Indians. This suggests that the renown of Indian wisdom had reached as far as Greece before Alexander's invasion. After the death of Alexander, legends were built round him. They were written in Greek but some were translated into Syrian and later from Syrian into Arabic. They contain accounts of his encounters with Indian philosophers. He enquires from them about philosophical problems and admits that philosophy had reached in India a higher stage than in Greece. These stories cannot be regarded as history. Nevertheless, they indicate that the renown of Indian wisdom had spread to these areas. This is further proven by the fact that such stories were freely composed and people listened to them with interest and credence. These legends are estimated to have been composed between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.16.



We know that in accordance with his usual practice of setting up Greek colonies in all the lands he conquered, Alexander established such colonies on the banks of the river Indus. We further know that the founder of Sceptic philosophy, Pyrrhon (d. 275 B.C.) was in the army which came with him to India. After Alexander's death, Selucus Nicator established close contacts with Chandra Gupta Maurya and sent Megasthenes as his ambassador to his court. Relations had thus been established between Indians and Greeks before the age of Ashoka. This lends support to the theory that intellectual exchanges had also taken place between them. As for Ashoka, we know from a still extant inscription, that he sent missionaries to the Mediterranean countries and to all the Macedonian kings, though, unfortunately, no Western account of these missions has survived.<sup>6</sup>

We may now summarize the conclusions which the available evidence justifies. The countries mentioned in the Ashokan inscriptions had certainly received the message of Buddhism. It is probable that it had reached still further as Buddhism was in those days a vigorous proselytising religion. It is also probable that the influence of India had reached Greece even before the days of Ashoka. We have already referred to the remarkable resemblance between Indian thought and some of the early Greek schools, particularly the philosophy of Pythagoras. Unless we are to assume that these resemblances are entirely fortuitous, there must have been contacts between India and Greece. Such contacts were likely to have resulted in Indian thought influencing Greek thought, as Indian philosophy had already achieved considerable progress and reached a greater degree of maturity than the early schools of Greek philosophy. All these lend support to the theory that Indian philosophy had perhaps contributed to the development of early Greek philosophy though we have no definite knowledge of the nature and extent of such contribution.

What I have written so far deals with the possible influence of Indian philosophy on Greek philosophy. We should now consider the other aspect of the question, namely, what, if any, are the influences of Greek philosophy and science on India. It is difficult to give any detailed account which can be regarded as conclusive. It can, however, be said with confidence that at least in the 4th century A.D. and thereafter, Indian astronomy was influenced by Greek astronomy. In fact, some Greek terms became current in India. One well-known Indian astrologer, Varahmira,

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<sup>6</sup> "And this is the chiefest conquest in His Majesty's opinion - the conquest by the Law; this also is that effected by His Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues - even to where the Greek king Antiochus dwells, and beyond that Antiochus to where dwell the four kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander..... and likewise here, in the king's dominions, among the Yonas" (i.e. the Greeks of the Punjab). Quoted in Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, Volume I, p.298.

who died round about A.D. 587 has in his book, *Brihat Samhita* referred to Greek astronomers. Another writer of this period whom Alberuni has quoted in his *Indica*, has recorded high praise of Greek scholars. We can certainly infer from all this that after the 3rd century A.D. India had become familiar with Greek knowledge and its influence was felt among the learned circles here. So far, however, as the different schools of Indian philosophy are concerned, it is difficult to say with confidence to what extent, if any, were they influenced by Greek thought.

To sum up. It seems that our conclusions will be reasonable if we select two periods in the pre and the post Christian eras. We may say that in the pre-Christian era, Greek philosophy in its earlier phases was perhaps influenced by Indian philosophy. So far as the post-Christian era is concerned, there are reasons to believe that some aspects of Indian thought were influenced by Greek knowledge.

### Greece and India

I would like to make it clear that my emphasis on the need for a comprehensive history of general philosophy is based solely on historical considerations. There is no question of the exaltation or diminution of any country's or nation's contribution. We have divided humanity into groups based on geographical boundaries, and painted Europe, Asia and Africa in different colours on the map of the world. The map of human knowledge cannot, however, be divided into regions of different colours. Knowledge is above all limitations and boundaries. Whatever be the region of the globe where it first emerged, it is the common heritage of all mankind. All human beings, regardless of country or nationality, can lay claim to it with equal right. The fact that Socrates was born in Greece and the writers of the Upanishads in India may be important from the point of view of their own biography but is irrelevant so far as the history of human knowledge is concerned. It is true that Socrates was Greek and the writers of the Upanishads were Indians. The addition they have made to human knowledge, however, is neither Greek nor Indian, and belongs to the whole of humanity. If philosophy began in India earlier than in Greece, its only effect is that in narrating the history of philosophy we should begin with India. This does not, however, give any special virtue to India nor detract from the glory of Greece. We can apply to human knowledge what the Arab poet has said of the tribe of Banu Amr:

*La taqul daruha bi-sharq-i-Najdin*  
*Kullu Najd lil-mirayat-i-daru.*

Do not say that his house is to the east of Najd.  
 For all Najd is the dwelling of the tribe of Banu Amr.



## World Philosophy

I have already stated one of the main considerations which led to the compilation of the present work. There is another consideration which is perhaps of greater importance. Till now, the fragmentation of philosophy into different compartments has prevented the survey of philosophical problems from a truly universal point of view. We have histories of philosophy which deal with one country or period, but there is no single study which covers the philosophical developments of all climes and ages. The time has, therefore, come to write a history of philosophy which will include the contributions of India, China and Greece, and of the ancient, medieval and modern periods.

Increasing control over the forces of nature has brought men of different regions nearer one another. Different cultures have thus been brought into close proximity. Closer contacts have created conditions in which the contributions of different peoples can be brought into one common pool of human knowledge. They also facilitate the task of philosophy in effecting a reconciliation between the different principles underlying the outlook of different civilisations. The evolution of a world philosophy has become a matter, not only of theoretical interest, but of great practical urgency.

From this viewpoint also the history of philosophy must be re-written. Contributions of different nations and periods must not only be fully recognised but given their proper place in the evolution of a common world philosophy. For example, in studying the problem of knowledge, we have, until now, considered the views of either Indian thinkers or Greek epistemologists or Arab philosophers. As a consequence, we have looked at philosophical problems not in their pure light, but as seen through the glass of a national or geographical outlook. We must now attempt a solution of the problem which will take into consideration the insights acquired by these different systems. In this way, alone, can we approach the problems of philosophy from a truly philosophical point of view.

The present work, it is true, has not surveyed the problems of philosophy from this synoptic point of view. It has, at least, sought to bring together in one common compass the knowledge attained by different peoples at different times. It is my hope that this accumulation of materials into one common pool will serve as a first step towards the writing of that world history of philosophy, which alone can serve the needs of humanity at the present juncture.

## Conclusion

This Introduction opened with a quotation from a Persian poet which said that the first and last pages of the Book of Existence are lost.

Philosophy is the quest for the recovery of these lost pages. Some three thousand years have passed in this quest but the lost pages have not been recovered, nor is there any hope that they will ever be recovered. The history of philosophy is the record of this quest. Though it does not tell us of the attainment of the goal, it has unfolded to us a fascinating story of voyage and enquiry.

The pilgrims of philosophy did not succeed in securing the object of their quest but they have in the course of their journey obtained something else of great value: in their search for philosophy they discovered sciences. Science has brought to man new power but not given him peace. It first appeared as an instrument of construction, but is now threatening to become a weapon of destruction. The time has now come when philosophy should turn its attention towards the problem of human peace. If it succeeds in this quest and rediscovers the peace which man has lost, then, although it cannot re-write the two lost pages, it will write a new book for humanity. It will then have the right to say in the words of another Persian Poet

Raharawan ra khastagi-e-rah neest  
Ishq hamrah ast-o-ham khud-manzil ast.

Those who tread the path of love never tire  
Because love is both the path and the goal.



# **The Vision of Culture**

**Sangeet Natak Akademi**

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**Lalit Kala Akademi**

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**Sahitya Akademi**

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**Indian Council for Cultural Relations**

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**“Art cannot really flourish until there are strong non-official agencies working for it. This is the main reason for setting up the Akademis which, though established by government, will work as autonomous bodies without any interference from government in their activities.”**

# The Vision of Culture\*

## Sangeet Natak Akademi\*\*

Of the many questions that pressed for immediate attention after the achievement of Independence, one of the most important was that relating to the revival of cultural activities. During the last one hundred and fifty years, the fine arts, whether dance or drama, music or literature, did not receive the attention or the support they required from the state for their complete development. It is true that there has been a renaissance in India since the middle of the 19th century, but this was due to the release of new forces in society; it owed little to the state. That is why it was not as extensive or deep as it would have been had it received the necessary state support. After the fall of the Mughal Empire, the centuries-old tradition of state encouragement to different forms of fine arts was almost completely withdrawn.

The Indian states, which constituted about a third of India, have, no doubt, in their own territories, played a significant role in supporting and developing these arts and thus deserve our gratitude, but their effort was not commensurate with the requirements of the situation. In any case, with the disappearance of the princely order, the patronage which they extended to the fine arts is also no longer available. In a democratic regime, the arts can derive their sustenance only from the people. And the state, as the organised manifestation of the people's will, must, therefore, undertake its maintenance and development as one of its first responsibilities.

Enlightened public opinion in the country has been conscious of this fact for over a decade. On January 26, 1945, a specific proposal in this

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\* Maulana's vision of culture gave birth to the three Akademis - Sahitya Akademi, Sangeet Natak Akademi and Lalit Kala Akademi. It also created the Indian Council for Cultural Relations. The above excerpts are from four speeches that he delivered on each inauguration. Taken as a whole, they represent his cultural policy on the fine and performing arts. These edited excerpts have been taken from *Speeches of Maulana Azad*, Publications Division, Government of India

\*\* Welcome Address at the inauguration of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 28 January, 1953.

regard was put forward by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The society moved for the establishment of a National Cultural Trust as an autonomous body entrusted with the task of stimulating and promoting the culture of the country in all its aspects. The Trust was to consist of three academies, viz., an Academy of Letters to deal with Indian languages, literature, philosophy and history; an Academy of Art (including graphic, plastic and applied art) and Architecture; and an Academy of Dance, Drama, and Music. It was intended that these academies should aim at maintaining and improving the standards of achievement in all these fields of culture.

The essence of Indian civilization and culture has always been a spirit of assimilation and synthesis. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the field of music. The amalgamation of Persian and classical Indian styles during the Middle Ages gave rise to a type of music which combines the excellence of both. When the Muslims came to India, Persian music was already a fully developed system. It did not take Muslims long to discover the special merits of Indian music. They not only adopted it as their own, but added to it richly by adapting elements from the Persian tradition. Since then there has been no separate development of the two musical traditions within India, a combined stream has grown which, in richness and splendour, surpasses both the original tributaries.

Amir Khusro is a well-known name to every student of Indian history. He was a great poet, but his inventive genius has left its mark on other fields of the fine arts as well. In music, he has created new forms through the combination of Indian and Persian melodies. *Aiman*, *Tarana*, *Qol*, *Sazgri*, *Suhla* and other tunes are sung to this day by millions of Indians and are a living testimony to his genius and his power of synthesis. In the field of instrumental music, it was he who invented the Sitar. He found the Veena too elaborate and complicated an instrument and simplified it by reducing the number of strings to only three. The name Sitar, which in Persian means 'three strings', still bears testimony to this fact.

The same process of simplification and development is found in the field of vocal music. Sultan Husain Sharqy, King of Jaunpur, was a great lover of music, and it was he who introduced the *Khayal* style in Indian music. The old classical style of *Dhrupad* was too difficult and rigid for the fluent expression of emotions. In *Khayal*, he perfected a style which has the dignity of the *Dhrupad* without its rigidity and has become one of the most cherished forms of Indian music.

We find the same spirit of assimilation and synthesis in the evolution of the various musical instruments of India. There were *Tanpuras* of various types which were popular in Iran, and India adopted and adapted them to suit her own requirements. Another Persian instrument, *Qanun*, is played even to this day by the people of Kashmir. There is, therefore, no better example of the composite culture of India than in the field of music. The co-operation of Hindus and Muslims for almost a thousand years has



here brought about a consummation that has perhaps no equal in the world.

There is no doubt that whatever might be the source from which the Greeks derived their inspiration, they developed drama and brought it to a level that is still unsurpassed. Comparisons in such fields are invidious, but we can still say that Kalidasa may be compared with the greatest among the Greek dramatists. We have also the works of Bhasa, Bhavabhuti and Banbhata who raised the Indian drama to a level which is, perhaps, not inferior to that attained by the Greeks. In the field of the theory of drama, Indian achievements are perhaps still more remarkable and serve as models even to this day.

In the field of dance, the great variety of Indian styles has attracted the notice of all students of arts and culture. The range of Indian dance extends from the strictly classical styles, developed in the temples with their infinite variety of expression and modulations, to the wonderful rhythm and flow of folk dances in different regions of the land. In their variety they present a richness of form that has few parallels elsewhere in the world. What is most remarkable is the continuity of these traditions and the vigour they display to this day.

This precious heritage of dance, drama and music is one which we must cherish and develop. We must do so not only for our own sake but also as our contribution to the cultural heritage of mankind. Nowhere is it truer than in the field of art, that to sustain means to create. It will be the aim of these Akademis to preserve our traditions by offering them an institutional form.

### **Lalit Kala Akademi\***

Here in India we have always recognised that art is an essential element in the culture of the individual and the community. We have our simple village women who do beautiful alpana and decorate their homes. We have our village craftsmen who weave designs and patterns that are the envy of trained artists in the sophisticated countries of Europe and America. If we ask how even the poor in India have developed such pure taste in art, the answer to my mind is that this is due to the splendid architectural and sculptural work we find in our religious monuments. From earliest times, the temple was not only a place of worship but a place of beauty. During the Middle Ages magnificent mosques were built which combined great nobility with great simplicity. The common man who was continually seeing these splendid works of art naturally developed a pure and refined taste. A country which produced Konark or the Brihadeswara Temple or the Taj Mahal had not only a high conception but also inimitable skill in this art. The minds which conceived these noble edifices, the hands which shaped them, and the patronage

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\* Address at the first meeting of the Lalit Kala Akademi (National Academy of Arts), New Delhi, 5 August, 1954.

which made their construction possible evoke our admiration to this day.

It is today realised that no education can be complete which does not pay proper attention to the development and refinement of the emotions. This can best be done through the provision of facilities for training the sensibilities by practising one of the fine arts. Apart from the general question of developing the finer aspects of personality through artistic education, there is also the immediate utility of such education in developing our manual skills and perceptive sensibilities. Today, it is recognised that education at pre-primary or nursery stage can best be imparted through training the child in the matching of colours, shapes and sizes. This releases the creative instinct in the child, thus diverting his superfluous energy from merely destructive channels into those of social behaviour and decorum. Thus, whether from the point of view of training the emotions or refining the sentiments or developing the manual skill and creative urge, the importance of art as an element of education cannot be over-emphasized.

I have, however, always held that in the field of art the role of the Government must be secondary. The government should no doubt, take an interest in the development of art but the truth is that art cannot really flourish until there are strong non-official agencies working for it. This is the main reason for the setting up of the Akademis which, though established by the Government, will work as autonomous bodies without any interference from the Government in their activities. It is true that they are being set up by the Government but this is only because someone had to take the initiative in setting it up. Now that this has been done, the work of the Government is over and from now on it will be your function as members of the Akademi to provide inspiration to artists throughout the country.

### **Sahitya Akademi\***

I have for sometime been thinking how best to encourage the development of creative literature in different Indian languages. Some of the state governments are, no doubt, working to this end, but I felt that it was necessary to take measures which would secure an all-India recognition for writers in different languages. The object of the Sahitya Akademi is to educate public taste and advance the cause of literature. This can be done only if we maintain the highest standard. Then alone will writers aim at giving their best and create works of art which will add to the heritage of man.

There are some, and the Prime Minister was one of them at one stage, who expressed the view that the Akademis should not have been established in this fashion. They regard it as an imposition from above. They hold that the growth of the Akademis should have been encouraged from

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\* Speech delivered at the first meeting of the Sahitya Akademi, 12 March, 1954.

below. Instead of establishing Akademis, the Government should have waited until there grew in the country, societies or individuals who had the necessary authority to establish them. Once such Akademis had been set up, the Government's function should have been merely to recognise them.

I am afraid I cannot agree with this approach. Since the Renaissance, many Academies have been established in Europe. Today there is hardly any country in the Western world which does not have one or more national Academy. All these Academies were established by the governments under letter-patent of the sovereigns or by legislation. There is, therefore, no reason why the Government of India should not take the initiative for the establishment of the Akademis. In fact, if we had waited for the Akademis to grow from below, we might have had to wait till the Greek Kalends.

### **Indian Council for Cultural Relations\***

You will remember that when India became free it was increasingly recognised that we must establish closer cultural contacts with other countries of the world. It was also realised that the proper way of doing so would be to set up an organisation which could represent India to the world. One of its major functions would be to dispel misunderstandings and prejudices which have arisen against India in certain areas of the world. This became all the more necessary due to the fact during the last two centuries India was not free to play her role on the stage of the modern world. During this period she was under the domination of the British Government. She, therefore, appeared to the world in whatever way the British chose to represent her. Naturally, this was done not for her own sake but in the way that suited the British purpose. It was only after she became free that she could again appear before the world in her own true character.

In 1949 we took up this question, and in April 1950 the Indian Council for Cultural Relations was established. Its Constitution made it clear that its aim was to establish cultural contacts with all foreign countries and its field of action extended to the entire world. It was, however, obvious that such large scale activities could not commence all at once. In order to make a beginning and also to ensure that the initial efforts were not dissipated, we decided that we would divide the work of the Council into different regions. We started with the division for Middle East, Turkey and Egypt.

Some friends may ask why the work of the Council began with this particular division. It is a natural question but the reasons are also quite evident. You will remember that India attained her freedom in circumstances which led to the partition of the country and created an atmosphere of hatred and communalism. Large number of Hindus and

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\* Speech at the General Assembly meeting of ICCR, 14 February, 1958.

Sikhs were persecuted and killed in Pakistan, and large number of Muslims met a similar fate in India. A stream of refugees flowed across the border. There may have been no cause for complaint if these facts were objectively stated to the world outside. But I have to regretfully state that the newly created State of Pakistan gave only one side of the story and started a propaganda campaign against India. One result of this was that an impression was created in Muslim countries that India was partitioned on a communal basis and was now solely a Hindu country. They started to believe that even if a few Muslims were left in India, they had no religious or civic freedom.

I am, however, glad to inform you that soon after the establishment of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, the situation dramatically changed. All these countries realised how baseless and false was their prejudice and misunderstanding. They also realised that the Indian Government was not a Government of Hindus alone but a truly national Government comprising all Indians.



## **Maulana in Parliament**

**“Forty years ago... I decided to dedicate my life to the service of my country. I am talking of 1907, when I was eighteen or nineteen years old... Since then my whole life has been an open book before the world. There is no desire left in me now... Let me tell you that when a man has no personal motive, he becomes shoreless, boundless. Such a man is immune from worldly setbacks. He is unsailable by weapons because his body is vulnerable only so long as there is self-interest in him.”**



## Maulana in Parliament\*

**Maulana Azad:** Sir, my Honourable friend Acharya Kripalani started the discussion day before yesterday. In his speech he stated that the present system of education was entirely defective and that it must be reformed. When he took up the argument, it occurred to me that he was going to discuss the measures of reform suggested by the Education Ministry, and the steps taken by the Central Advisory Board of Education in January of last year. I thought that perhaps he was going to make some suggestions in that regard. But I was surprised to hear him say that we had appointed a Commissioner for University Education, a Commission for Secondary Education and now, after a few days, we may appoint a Commission for Primary Education. This shows that he has no idea of what the Government is doing in education. It seems that he does not get the time to read current updates because his remark that now a Commission would be appointed to examine Primary Education is entirely meaningless. So far as Primary Education is concerned it was decided by the Government, not today, but five years ago, that it would follow the Basic pattern. All the State Governments have accepted this decision and are implementing it. Now, the outstanding question concerned University and Secondary Education. The question of Secondary Education was more important than that of University Education, because, as a matter of fact, the real defect of our system is precisely that. The British Government evolved this system not to educate the people of India, but because they needed English speaking persons of a special type for carrying on their official business. University Education could not exist without the simultaneous existence of Secondary and Primary Education. Secondary Education was evolved only as a means to University Education. No consideration was given to the fact that for thousands and millions of persons who would not reach the stage of University Education, Secondary Education will not be the means but the end. Secondary Education, therefore, should have been of the type

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\* This speech, delivered by Maulana at the Lok Sabha, 29 March, 1954, in response to the Opposition's charges against his ministry, is part of the Demands for Grants for the Ministry of Education, Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

that contained the elements which could serve as an end for ninety per cent of our people rather than remain a mere means. The result of the British policy was that the whole system of our education was misshaped.

To say that nothing is being done by way of reforms in the system of education is entirely meaningless and wrong. It has become a fashion today for any and every man to stand up and give expression to the platitude that the education system is defective. There should be reforms no doubt, but tall talk leads us nowhere. What needs to be considered is what type of reforms? The Education Ministry pondered over the subject and drew up a programme of reform which may confidently be regarded as the only correct programme. Given the full co-operation of the State Governments we will reorganise Secondary Education within a short time.

After Acharya Kripalani, Shri Purushottamdas Tandon began his speech. As the discussion on educational reforms was continuing, he too said a few words about it. But since this did not form the main burden of his speech I am also not paying much attention to it. I will urge him not to worry himself about educational reforms, but to leave them to others.....

**Shri Tandon:** When others are thinking along wrong lines, how can I leave it to them?

**Maulana Azad:** That too, you should leave to others. There are others who will detect the errors. You are not the man for the job.... He (Shri Tandon) was, however, determined to take up the issue of Hindi: in fact he had come prepared for this. I do admit it is an important issue. It is stated in the Constitution that English will be dropped after fifteen years and that its place will be taken by Hindi in Devanagari script. Accordingly, it is our duty to give our utmost attention to this subject. I would have been immensely pleased had Shri Tandon given his views on the programme and its implementation, which the Education Ministry has prepared. But I regret to say, that it was evident from the way he started his speech that he had no intention of giving any constructive suggestions. First, he built an anti-Education Ministry scheme in his imagination. Having done that, he now wants to prepare his case, for which he is busy collecting material, be it right or wrong. I will, therefore, reconstruct before you the plan he has formulated. His plan is to emphasize that we all know about this Education Minister; at the time the discussion started in the Constituent Assembly, he was in favour of Hindustani. Therefore, whatever work is being done today by the Education Minister or whatever help is being given by him, is not for Hindi but for Hindustani. This is the plan he has formulated.

**Shri Tandon:** I hope Maulana will pardon me when I say that he better speak with the same precision as I did. I did not say that he doesn't want Hindi! I had indicated that, proportionately, he was more inclined in that direction. Don't lose your balance in a fit of anger. Keep the balance in

whatever you say.

**Maulana Azad:** My anger need not worry you.....Tandonji just now said, "I did not say this. I never meant that the Education Ministry was not doing anything for Hindi and that all that was being done by it was for Hindustani. What I meant was that the greater inclination of the Education Ministry was towards Hindustani." Be it as it may, I want to point out to you that this statement is utterly incorrect. What were the arguments that he gave? Look at the measure of honesty with which he formulated his plan. The first thing that he presented as an argument was that the Education Ministry was helping the Hindustani Prachar Sabha of Wardha. Now it is evident that the name Hindustani Prachar Sabha does not include the word Hindi. Instead, the word used is Hindustani. Indeed, the Education Ministry is assisting such an organisation. By saying this he expected to create the feeling that the Education Ministry was, in fact, inclined towards Hindustani. I want to tell you that this line of argument is based on *purfareb takhayul* (deceptive imagination). I shall narrate the facts as they are *purfareb* (deceptive).

**Shri Tandon:** Mr. Deputy Speaker. I object to the use of this word. What is the meaning of *purfareb*? Let me tell Maulana Sahib that being a Minister does not make him more honest than me. He will have to take a lesson from me in this regard. The Education Minister can learn the correct use of words from me. He is using *purfareb* for me. Unthinkable! He is talking *purfareb* himself...

**Maulana Azad:** To utter the word *purfareb* (deceptive) during a discussion is certainly not unparliamentary. During the course of discussion a Member can say that the way another Honourable Member has presented something is not clear, that it is deceptive, that it is not straight forward. I do not concede the contention that the use of this word is unparliamentary. In any case, I do not insist upon this word.

**Shri Tandon:** I did not utter a single word which was unworthy of Maulana Sahib's stature. I gave arguments for everything I said. My speech consisted of nothing but arguments, no abusive epithets were hurled against anyone.

**Maulana Azad:** Now, kindly see the manner in which the case of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha came up before the Ministry. This organisation was founded by Gandhiji. As Shri Tandon explained the other day, when Gandhiji came into conflict with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, he withdrew from it and founded the Sabha. Dr. Rajendra Prasad became its Chairman and Kaka Sahib Kalelkar and many others became its members. During Gandhiji's lifetime, a majority of those who looked up to him were its members. When Gandhiji died, Dr. Rajendra Prasad called a meeting of this Sabha. The question that came up was whether or not to continue it. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other members said that since it was a memorial to Gandhiji, it ought to be continued. Another question arose regarding

its funding source. If it were to be kept alive it needed financial assistance. Dr. Rajendra Prasad invited the government's attention to this matter. I enquired about the scheme and the amount of funding that was required. The scheme which was presented entailed a substantial financial commitment. It suggested that the office be moved to Delhi and that it should be given its own press. All this amounted to several lakhs as a non-recurring grant, and about one lakh as an annual grant. The Education Ministry could not accept the scheme in its totality but agreed on a modest grant which would ensure its maintenance. It should be made clear that while it is called Hindustani Prachar Sabha, its work is directed towards Hindi. On this basis the grant was sanctioned. Now I want to ask my friend, what he thinks about Dr. Rajendra Prasad's inclination? Is he opposed to Hindi or is he one of its supporters?.....

To summarize the question of the aid given to the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, it is not right to conclude that the Education Ministry favours Hindustani, not Hindi. This body was set up under special circumstances. It was a memorial to Gandhiji. He declared that he would keep this body functioning, even if he were to do so all alone. It was, therefore, not considered proper to abolish it. And the organisation works for Hindi, there is no question of Hindustani...

**Shri A.P. Sinha** (Muzaffarpur East): We listened to the speeches of Tandonji and Seth Govind Das, bad as they were, silently. Why don't they let us listen to the speech of the Hon. Minister? Sir, it is for you to ensure this for the House.

**Maulana Azad:** Tandonji next referred to this year's non-recurring grant of sixty thousand rupees to the Shibli Academy. This Academy has functioned for the last thirty or forty years. All the books published by the Academy are in Urdu, and Gandhiji liked their books, patronised the Academy, and wrote many articles about it. Anyway, the Academy has done useful and valuable work in Urdu. Since the people working in this Academy are those who took part in the Congress movement, they have contacts with Congressmen. About eight months ago, these people called on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and explained to him the condition of the Academy. They said that prior to the partition, their books were in demand in Punjab and Sind, but now they had lost this market, and owing to differences in the value of the rupee, other complications had arisen. They stated that the financial condition of the Academy was such that in the absence of an emergency grant of Rs.60,000 they would be compelled to close it down. They did not ask for a recurring grant, but, on the basis of their figures, requested a one-time grant of Rs.60,000 which would enable the society to continue. The Prime Minister wrote one letter to the Finance Ministry and one to the Education Ministry, expressing the view that it would be undesirable to close down the Academy for want of such a small amount. The Ministry felt that if this society was forced to close



down, Pakistan would exploit the fact for propaganda purposes; it would be said that after the partition the situation in India was such that a society of this type could not survive. So I agreed that a lump sum, non-recurring grant of Rs.60,000 should be given to this society.

I want to draw your attention to one point which we should think over in a calm and collected manner. The Central Education Ministry spends about fourteen crore rupees annually. If, out of this amount, a sum of Rs.60,000 is given to a society that works for Urdu, is it anything against which there should have been such severe complaints and such strong opposition? We should recognize the fact that our mind works in very narrow grooves. A sum of Rs.60,000 has been granted for a certain language of our country: we cannot tolerate it and we complain about it.

Urdu is not the language of any religious group. Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others are equally conversant with this language. Were it only Muslims who spoke Urdu, though that is not true, do we not have four and a half crore Muslims in India? And if a society that renders valuable service to Urdu is once given a sum of 60,000 rupees, is it anything that should be opposed and criticised, as being a step towards the promotion of Muslim culture? Did the opposition criticise it because they love Hindi? No.

Who is opposed to Hindi? So far as the progress of Hindi is concerned there are no two opinions. Those who criticise the above policy are not motivated by their love for Hindi, but by their aversion to seeing any other language making progress. If you want to rise to great heights, by all means do so, but not by stumping others. That is not the right way. So far as Hindi is concerned, I can assure you that there is not one single individual in the whole of North India who does not want this language to progress, or, who is opposed to it. In North India even those people who do not themselves know Hindi, want their children to study it. If anything stands in the way of the progress of Hindi, it is this very same mentality. In 1949, a society in Madras compiled an encyclopaedia in Tamil, and requested the Government of India for assistance. Since they were doing good and useful work, they were given a grant of Rs.80,000. I remember how people protested at that time, and what all was said. The fact that we had granted Rs.80,000 for the preparation of an encyclopaedia in Tamil was hardly something that should have disturbed anybody. But the same strong feelings were working at that time too. It was not love for Hindi that caused the furor. The feeling was; why should another language be given an opportunity to make progress? There is a desire that no other language should be permitted to exist. This means that it is not the progress of Hindi you want, but the fall of other languages. This is a bad attitude. It is because of this very attitude that Hindi does not make the progress that it ought to.

What is behind the opposition to Hindi in the South? We should see to it that we do not oppose any other language of India. We should be happy

to see every language prosper. At the same time, we must remember that Hindi is the national language of India, and it is the duty of every Indian to be firm on this issue and make a sincere effort to boost Hindi. But a different attitude is apparent here, an attitude that my friend demonstrated the other day when he said that a grant of Rs. 60,000 to a society meant that this was done in the interest of Islamic culture. This is absolutely uncalled for. No question of Islamic culture is involved in it.

I want to tell you that you should not expect me to talk in flattering tones. Only a man who has his axe to grind, who wants everybody to be pleased with him, and who does not wish to lose the office of a Minister indulges in flattery. I have no self-interest. Forty years ago, when some of my friends sitting here today, were unknowns, I decided to dedicate my life to the service of my country. I am talking of 1907 when I was eighteen or nineteen years old, and joined the Revolutionary Party of Bengal. Since then my whole life has been an open book before the world. There is no desire left in me now. The larger part of my life is over. Whatever little remains will also end one day. Let me tell you that when a man has no personal motive, he becomes boundless, shoreless. Such a man is immune from worldly setbacks. He is unassailable by weapons because this body is vulnerable only so long as there is self-interest in him. Once this weakness disappears nothing can harm or injure a man. Candidly speaking, the misfortune that befell this country as a result of the two-nation theory and the establishment of Pakistan, has been caused by this mentality. This attitude has been as much responsible for the split, as the misguided Muslims and the Muslim League.... The blame may be directed at people of such mentality because they walk along the path of narrow-mindedness, when they claim that there is no place for any other language, or for any other community or for any other's rights. It is only natural that the separatists would have exploited every such opportunity which came their way. They would have said, "How can we leave our governance in the hands of such people?"

You know that all along I resisted such forces. I said that the Hindu intellect in India, the Hindu mind in India is not represented by this mentality. The Hindu mind and outlook are represented by Gandhiji and others who stand by him. I drew the attention of the Muslims to this fact. I created a revolution in the minds of lakhs of Muslims. I have not been able to control my feelings in this matter; but I must tell you that so long as you continue to have this narrow-minded approach, you cannot achieve your objective.





## **Address to UNESCO**

**“The greatest paradox in the modern world is that while every nation wants peace and talks of peace, almost all governments spend far more on preparation for war than for the maintenance of peace.”**

## Address to UNESCO\*

This is the second occasion when Unesco is holding its Conference in Asia. The 3rd Session of the General Conference was held in Lebanon in 1948. Though the actual session happens to be in Delhi, I have every hope that the orbit of its influence will be felt far and wide in the whole of Asia. In particular, the countries of South East Asia will become responsive to Unesco's programme and ideals.

It we look back and think of the world as it was only a few decades ago, we would have to admit, that a gathering like the present one could not have been held. The world was then divided into two echelons, the so-called superior European world and the depressed countries of Asia and Africa. It is only in the present decade, after the last World War, that the world is becoming one in the sense that countries, whether of the West or of the East, can stand shoulder to shoulder on a common platform. Such a session as this which I have the honour to address today, would not have been possible before the last War. We were still an inferior nation, a subject people. Today, we share a common brotherhood with free and equal nations which alone can make true international understanding possible. The world has not suffered in vain. The travails of war have led to the birth of a new and resurgent Asia. That is how we have today this resplendent gathering in an Asian capital where representatives of Europe and America are meeting Asians and Africans on terms of equality to discuss the common problems of the world.

I am fully aware that the historical circumstances which in the past had created an invidious wall between the Western and the Eastern worlds have not entirely disappeared. Their vestiges still remain and are the cause of misunderstanding and tension. The old attitudes and values which made and strengthened the wall of division have, however, lost their hold on the minds of men. It is now obvious that sooner or later they must give way to truly modern and democratic values. Colonialism which was at once the pillar and the symbol of the old world is now so discredited that even those

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\* Speech delivered to the General Session of UNESCO, 9th Session, New Delhi, 5 November, 1956. *Speeches of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: 1947-1958*, Publications Division, Government of India .

who still practise it in some from or the other are apologetic about it.

The United States of America has made two contributions to the cause of world peace. After the First World War, the League of Nations was established mainly in response to President Wilson's idealism. After World War II, President Roosevelt, in co-operation with Mr. Churchill and Marshall Stalin, sponsored the idea of the United Nations. President Wilson was ahead of his own country where the prevailing temper was still isolationist under the influence of the Monroe doctrine. The United States did not, therefore, join the League. The result was that the leadership of the League devolved on Britain and France who were themselves colonial powers, and soon power politics began to dominate the League. I need not tell this distinguished gathering how the League of Nations gradually faded and, finally, petered out.

The League of Nations had also set up Committees and Commissions for dealing with social and economic problems, but the main emphasis of the League was on political issues. The United Nations realised from the very beginning that it could not succeed in its political aim unless adequate attention was paid to social and economic issues. That is why it set up specialised agencies to carry out some of its functions. Among them, Unesco is the most important, for its Constitution makes it clear that since all conflicts originate in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men alone that the defences of peace must be built. This is the special prerogative and responsibility of Unesco.

Unesco came into being on November 4, 1946, almost exactly ten years ago, and it may be timely to review its activities during the first decade. Such a survey must, from the nature of the case, be brief and can refer only to some of the outstanding items on its programme. As you are aware, Unesco has as one of its main objectives the elimination of inequality among nations so that men and women all over the world can live in an atmosphere of true democracy. Simultaneously, it has sought to promote education, science and culture in order to strengthen the defences of peace in the minds of men.

First and foremost among Unesco's programmes are those of fundamental education which have been initiated in several countries under its leadership or inspiration. There is growing recognition throughout the world that education does not mean the cultivation of the mind and the intellect alone. It also entails an all-round development of personality in the context of social and economic progress of the community. This broadening of the concept of what were in earlier days programmes of adult education is mainly the result of studies initiated by Unesco. In India we have benefited by these Unesco studies and formulated a five-point programme of social education which aims at the enrichment of personal and community life for all. Unesco has not only initiated these studies but also helped many of the member countries by undertaking

programmes of training and loan of experts on an international basis.

We must not forget the attempts of Unesco to ensure that free and compulsory elementary education is provided to all children in all countries of the world. Unesco has always stressed that economic progress is itself a function of widespread education. It has, therefore, made every effort to persuade member states to accept such programmes as rapidly as possible. One of the main items in the proposed programme for the next two years is the provision of such education in South American countries with direct assistance from Unesco.

Another field of Unesco's assistance that has been of special value is Technical Assistance to developing and undeveloped countries. In pursuing this programme, Unesco has discovered that the terms developing and undeveloped are fluid, and assistance, in order to be truly effective, must in many cases be a two-way traffic. We in India have been happy to receive technical assistance in certain fields of scientific and technological studies, and, in our turn we have offered the assistance of experts in educational and cultural matters to countries which have needed it. Closely linked with this programme of technical assistance has been the Unesco scheme of supplying scientific and technical textbooks to surmount the barriers of currency regulations which make exchanges so difficult in the modern world. I may also mention the study of the problems of arid zones which was initiated several years ago and is now proposed to be developed into a major project.

Unesco's contribution has become increasingly important in promoting better cultural understanding among different peoples and regions. One of the main causes of international tension and misunderstanding is ignorance and prejudice. For more than a century, Europeans thought that civilization meant Western civilization. Superior military might of the West was identified with higher moral and cultural excellence. The shock of two world wars and the gradual decay of colonialism has helped in instilling a greater sense of equality among the peoples of the world. This feeling of common humanity cannot, however, be consolidated unless peoples of different countries develop greater understanding of and respect for one another's culture. Unesco's programme of cultural interpretation by means of translations of classics, publication of art albums, recordings of music and exchange of cultural personnel among different peoples of the world is one of the most important ways in which better understanding among nations can be established. I am glad to note that this is proposed as a major project for the immediate future.

It is in pursuit of the same end that Unesco became concerned with the way in which history is taught. In most countries history is often another name for national self-glorification. What makes it worse is that such self-glorification is usually achieved through denying or diminishing

further strengthened their allegiance to the Soviet system, for the civil war which started after the revolution, soon led to foreign intervention, and the opponents of the regime became identified in the public mind with the foreign powers. The phenomenal progress of the country in the last forty years appears to have confirmed their belief that the greatest progress can be achieved along socialist lines. There may, no doubt, be minor variations and shifts in the decisions of individuals and groups, but, by and large, the people of the Soviet Union and many of the countries of Eastern Europe seem to have accepted the socialist pattern of life with as much faith as the people of the United States have accepted capitalism and free enterprise.

I have said earlier, that since the clash between the two systems is ideological, Unesco has a special responsibility in attempting a solution of the conflict. The solution also must, in the first instance, be on the ideological level and based on the recognition that these two systems are there and have come to stay. We must further recognise that each system must have full freedom to propagate its own point of view so long as this is done in a peaceful and orderly manner. Unesco stands for the utmost liberty in the expression of opinion and such a claim on behalf of the two systems would be fully in consonance with the spirit of Unesco. While there must thus be complete freedom in the expression of its point of view, neither system has the right to resort to violent or subversive methods. Everybody acknowledges in principle that all nations have the right to self-determination. From this it follows that each country has the right to choose its own form of society and government, and no other country has the right to dictate in this matter. Once the great nations of the world accept this point of view without any mental reservation, they will be able not only to tolerate but to co-operate with one another in various fields.

I have spoken to friends in both camps. They do not deny the validity of what I have said but I have found that supporters of each system are afraid that the other is resorting or may resort to underhand and subversive methods. Once the right of free discussion on the ideological level is accepted and allowed, much of the cause for such fear and misunderstanding discussed freely, one of the main reasons for using subversive or secret methods will disappear. If any party should deviate from this and seek to utilise violent or secret methods, the matter should immediately be brought to the notice of the United Nations. I think that the United Nations should in such cases have the authority to take action to prevent any breach of the mutual agreement for open and free discussion.

In the past, one of the reasons why other countries were suspicious of Soviet intentions was the existence of the international communist movement under the Comintern. In the early stages of the Soviet State, it was frankly stated that the Communist Party would work for world revolution. Trotsky believed that a Communist revolution was imminent



in Germany and other countries. Gradually, however, the Soviet leaders and Stalin, in particular, began to speak of building socialism in one country. When the United Kingdom and the United States of America became the allies of the Soviet Union during World War II, the Comintern was dissolved. It may also be remembered that towards the end of the war, Stalin advised the Communist Party of China to co-operate with Chiang Kai-shek. The feeling gradually grew that the Soviet Union could best serve the cause of communism by demonstrating that a socialist society could offer the highest standard of life to its citizens. After Stalin's death, the present-day Soviet leaders have expressed even more unequivocally their belief that there must be no interference with the internal affairs of another country. If socialism is to be achieved by any country, it must be through the activity of its own Communist Party. The way in which the present Soviet leaders are behaving should remove from the minds of all the fear of surreptitious communist interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

We may now consider a new development which has been taking place in the Soviet Union in the last two or three years. There have been vast changes which encourage the hope that a peaceful solution of the ideological clash is feasible. In the past, supporters of Western political democracy often complained that there was no right of free discussion in the Soviet Union and opinion was dictated from above. This, they said, applied not only to individual citizens of the Soviet Union, but even to political regimes in other countries. It cannot be denied that there was force in this contention. In the days of Stalin the clash between Yugoslavia and Russia arose over the right of Yugoslavia to choose her own pattern of communism. Marshall Tito claimed that Yugoslavia need not follow the Soviet methods and must evolve her own type of socialism to suit her own special needs. Stalin did not accept this claim and we all know how Yugoslavia became for some years an object of Soviet criticism and enmity. There has now been a striking change and we have read that during the last Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet leaders have frankly recognised that there can be different routes to socialism. We also see that the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union has been resolved. Recent events in Poland add further confirmation to this view that the Soviet leaders no longer seek to dictate to Communist parties in other independent countries.

Progressive minds all over the world have noted with regret that socialism as developed in the Soviet Union has in the past, meant regimentation of life and the suppression of individual liberty. This was, no doubt, mainly due to the fact that the Russian people had no previous experience of political democracy or civil rights. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that the Soviet leaders of today are attempting to liberalise the regime. The Soviet Union has already gone far towards establishing

industrial and economic democracy. It will mark a great day not only for the Soviet Union but for the entire world when to these achievements of the Soviet Union they can also add the establishment of political democracy and individual liberty. I feel that Soviet Russia has taken a definite step towards this goal. It is both desirable and necessary that world opinion should welcome this change and encourage it in every way. It is a human duty to refrain from all expression of opinion which may in any way retard this process of liberalisation and democracy.

Once the two systems recognise that they must coexist and develop an attitude of toleration for one another, the immediate result will be an increasing understanding and respect for one another. Once mutual suspicion and hatred disappear, each system can learn from the experience and experiments of the other. Greater knowledge will also lead to a closer approximation between the two systems. As I have said earlier, neither system is likely to disappear. Differences between them will remain but these will largely be differences in methods and techniques and not in the broad values of culture and humanism which will become increasingly the same for all mankind.

It is Unesco's special task to work for better mutual understanding and appreciation of the two systems which are rivals for the allegiance of man. In working for such understanding and toleration, Unesco will also find the means for achieving its own immediate goal. Once the fear of war recedes and suspicion and hatred are eliminated, the enormous funds which are, today, used for armaments will be released for the creative purposes for which Unesco stands. Only in a world free from the constant threat of war and death can Unesco hope to realise the world-wide improvement in health, education and living standards to which it has pledged all its endeavour and faith.

After the above address had been written came the news of the sudden flare-up in the Middle East. The moral implications of this tragedy are so serious that I cannot help referring to it. Only a little while ago I had spoken hopefully of the fact that in the modern world the older causes of war—territorial, religious and nationalistic—had become largely obsolete. It is with a feeling of deep sorrow and regret that I have to confess that even this moderate optimism has proved to be wishful. Events that have happened during the last few days in Egypt show that we are still in the stranglehold of old ways and old diplomacy, and still a long way from the new world of our dreams.

We, in Unesco, are not directly concerned with political problems as such, but we cannot possibly ignore their impact on the special field of our interest, namely, international understanding and peace. I ask you in all humility to consider, seriously and dispassionately, what has happened. The Israeli forces cross into the Egyptian border and launch an attack on Egypt, and Britain and France serve an ultimatum on Egypt and

their bombers attack Cairo. Where, I ask you, does the United Nations Organization come into this gloomy picture? It seems to me inconceivable that two great nations like France and United Kingdom who are amongst the founders of the U.N. should have taken this action against Egypt, as if neither the UNO nor the Security Council were in existence! Even the sound and reasonable proposal of the United States which might have helped towards finding a way out of the impasse has been vetoed, leaving one with the uncomfortable feeling that even today the safeguarding of international peace and the future of mankind is considered to be less important than the service of narrow national or commercial interests.

Pondering over all this, I ask myself: what does all this mean so far as our work in Unesco is concerned? We cannot escape the conclusion that Unesco has so far not succeeded in creating that mental climate, that scrupulous and passionate regard for peace without which all our great technological and scientific progress is a dreadful menace, a sword hanging over our heads. It calls for redoubled effort on our part for building the famous but still distant "defences of peace" in the minds of men and women for which this great organization was brought into being. Unesco must either become something like the sensitive conscience of mankind even in moments of crisis or it will fail to function as a dynamic force for the good of mankind.

the contribution of other peoples and nations. In some cases, there is even active propagation of hate for other countries and cultures. It is obvious that there cannot be a truly international outlook so long as children from their early days are taught to exalt their own nations at the cost of others. Most histories till now have emphasized the facts of discord and struggle. There has been a tendency to emphasize competition among individuals and nations regardless of the fact that it is co-operation and not competition which has made human survival possible. Unesco has from its very inception stressed that the teaching of history must be reoriented, and taken action on this behalf. Its project for a scientific and cultural history of mankind will, when completed, be a major contribution towards better understanding and fellowship among men and women all over the world.

Apart from this massive study of human co-operation through the ages, Unesco has also undertaken or initiated the study of some of the specific concepts which cause tension among individuals and nations. Racial arrogance is even today one of the dark spots in the record of man. Unesco has always fought against racial arrogance and pride. Studies initiated by it have led to the rebuttal of many popular superstitions. In spite of increasing recognition throughout the world that ideas of racial superiority or inferiority have no basis in fact, there are still, unfortunately, certain regions of the world where racial discrimination is rampant. Unesco must fight this evil wherever it exists with all the strength at its command.

In its efforts to achieve greater understanding between nations, Unesco also initiated scientific studies in some of the basic social and political concepts. In 1947, it sponsored the study of the concept of human rights and thus helped in the formulation of the universal declaration of the fundamental rights of man. Later, it initiated a study of the concept of democracy and, perhaps, for the first time, brought together thinkers from the communist and the capitalist countries in a common search for the essential ingredients of democracy. These and other studies have helped in clearing misunderstandings and in indicating the way in which different ideologies may be expressed in common terms.

I could have gone on adding to the list but I do not wish to tire you further. Even this incomplete and rapid survey makes it clear that while Unesco may not have fulfilled all our expectations, its achievements are not inconsiderable. Our goal was and remains high and it is unavoidable that all our ideals cannot be immediately fulfilled. There is, therefore, no room for complacency but when we remember the many obstacles of prejudice, distrust, and perhaps most important of all, lack of funds against which Unesco had to contend, there is no reason for feeling dissatisfied with what has been done.

## II

The greatest paradox in the modern world is that while every nation wants peace and talks of peace, almost all governments spend far more on preparation for war than for the maintenance of peace. Unesco's annual budget is only about ten million dollars. When we compare this to the thousands of millions which single countries spend on armaments, one begins to wonder whether a collective insanity has not taken possession of the entire world. Further, when we talk of ten million as Unesco's budget, we have to remember that quite a substantial proportion of this meagre amount is spent on administration. I know that no organization can run unless people administer it, but there is no gainsaying the fact that after the administrative expenses of Unesco have been met, very little in proportion to needs is left for actual programme activities. If we want to watch the stars, we must certainly have telescopes, but we should not be so engrossed with the telescopes that we lose sight of the stars! I have, on several earlier occasions, discussed this at greater length and would not like to repeat myself. I am sure that all members of Unesco are fully aware of the importance of this issue and are equally anxious that all possible measures for reducing administrative expenses are taken.

My main concern today is not about the proportion of Unesco's budget spent on administration but the proportion of the world's budget spent for realising the goal of Unesco. What is this goal? It is that education, scientific research and cultural activities should raise the status of man throughout the world. Unesco also aims at reducing the disparities among nations and individuals which are so glaring in the modern world. This is the common purpose of all nations and hence all nations must share in meeting the cost of fulfilling this common objective. We see however that despite universal recognition of this imperative duty there is little evidence of practical measures to achieve this end.

The main reason for this state of affairs is the deployment of resources for armaments, due to fear of war. In the past, the main reasons for such clashes have been territorial or economic. In earlier days, wars were often fought on the basis of territory, religion or race. Sometimes there were wars for survival, because with the limited supply of food, any increase in population created crisis. We have, on record, people migrating from one country to another in pursuit of survival. In the 18th and 19th centuries, wars in Europe were fought on grounds of nationalism or language. Outside Europe, there were many wars which were a result of the colonial ambitions of Western countries. Very soon the world was divided into nations of "haves" and "have-nots". These colonial struggles culminated in World War I.

In the modern world, these earlier causes of war have become largely obsolete. With scientific and technological advance there is no reason today why everyone should not have enough to live in comfort. If the



increase in world population can be regulated, and, here again, education must play the most important role, the economic causes for struggle among individuals and nations will disappear. No longer is colonialism a vital force. In major parts of the world, it is a thing of the past. Even where it exists, its days are numbered. With increasing recognition of the principle of self-determination in different regions of the world, wars on the basis of geographical and language considerations are also largely outmoded.

If men were rational, it would be evident that there has never before been a better prospect for peace than there is today. Despite this, the atmosphere in the world today is one of tension, suspicion, fear and hatred. What, then, is the basic cause for the present state of affairs? I think you will all agree that it is ideological. The conflict is today in the minds of men, and not in material things. We have on the one side a capitalist and, on the other, a socialist camp. Not only are these two camps divided on a national basis, but, to a certain extent, the clash of ideas divides individuals. In every country we find supporters of the opposite camp which give to the present struggle the character of both an international and a civil war. It is, therefore, not surprising that the present struggle should lead to such bitterness on all sides. Since it is based on a clash of ideas, it must be fought out on the plane of ideas. Unesco cannot, therefore, ignore this conflict. In fact, I consider it to be the duty of Unesco to settle this clash of ideas and find out and suggest a solution to the nations of the world. It is a real problem which must be faced. We can ignore it only at our peril.

So far as the United Nations and its specialised agencies are concerned, we have to recognise that they are not committed to any ideology. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. are founder members of the United Nations. In Unesco itself, we have member States who represent many different ideologies.

What, then, is the explanation for the exclusion of China from U.N. and Unesco? It cannot be on the basis of ideology; the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia and many other communist countries are members of the United Nations and Unesco. The exclusion of China is thus both illogical and unintelligible. I am aware that Unesco must perhaps wait for U.N. to take a decision in the matter, but the issue is so clear that I do not think the U.N. can now delay much longer in according China her rightful place in the comity of nations. In any case, the refusal to recognise China negates the U.N.'s claim to be a real world organization, for the exclusion of China means that almost one-fourth of humanity is excluded from it.

Whatever be the technical objections against the admission of China to Unesco's membership, there can be no objection whatever, technical or otherwise, against the proposal that Unesco must take the lead in resolving the ideological conflict which divides the modern world. Ideological issues are its special concern, and its Constitution lays on it the obligation to build



the defences of peace in the minds of men. How can Unesco discharge that duty unless it seeks a solution for the ideological clash which today threatens the peace of the world and the survival of man? This must be the first duty of Unesco, because of all the agencies of United Nations, Unesco alone is concerned with the problems of the mind.

### III

The first step towards the discovery of a solution is to recognise facts. We must frankly and unequivocally admit that neither of the two ideologies can be crushed or eradicated from the world. No man with common sense will, for a moment, believe that either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. can be converted to a point of view to which it is diametrically opposed. In fact, neither now, nor ever before has there been complete ideological uniformity in the world. Throughout the ages, different countries have followed different faiths and outlooks. Why should we not accept the present ideological differences with the same feeling as differences of religion and faith?

Modern capitalist society has developed since the days of the Industrial Revolution. It enormously increased man's productive capacity but it was not able to solve the basic problems of distribution. This led to demands for new solutions and different schools of socialism arose as the answer. So far as Europe is concerned, one may say that the old forms of capitalism have become outmoded. The whole of Western Europe is moving towards increasing social control and welfare legislation. Private enterprise may no doubt exist but it is working within the limits imposed by public control.

The only apparent exception seems to be found in America. On the American continent, capitalism still seems to have large potentialities. It is true that America also has seen many changes from the earlier and cruder forms of capitalism based on exploitation of labour. Nevertheless, capitalism and private enterprise are still vigorous and living forces in America and the majority of the people appear content with the form of society they enjoy. The standard of life has been greatly raised and comforts assured to almost the entire population.

If American capitalism is vigorous and thriving and there seems no desire or prospect of changing it, one can say the same about U.S.S.R.

The problems and crises which the people of Russia had to face could be solved only in terms of socialism. It must be remembered that the Russian people had no real experience of democracy during the Czarist regime. The ballot box was, for all practical purposes, hardly known and political rights and liberties were always threatened by the secret police. The absence of political democracy in the Soviet system was, therefore, no hardship to the Russians, while the offer of social and economic democracy which it held out, challenged their hope and faith. Patriotism

Desai. I did so on this occasion as well. He was then ill and had been unwell for some time. I was therefore a little surprised when on my return, after the meeting of the A.I.C.C., I found he was waiting for me. It was very late and I was tired and thought that he must have retired. I gently admonished him for staying up so late, but he told me that Mohammed Taher, one of my relations, who had his business in Bombay, had called for me and waited a long time. When I did not return, he had left a message with Bhulabhai Desai. Mohammed Taher had a friend in the Bombay Police and had learnt from him that all the Congress leaders would be arrested early next morning. Taher's friend also told him that he did not know it for certain but it was reported that we would all be transported out of India, perhaps to South Africa.

I had heard similar rumours in Calcutta before I left. Later, I came to know that the rumour was not without foundation. When the Government decided that we should all be arrested, they also thought that it would not be politic to keep us in the country. In fact, approaches had been made to the Government of South Africa. There must have been some last-minute hitch, for later the decision was changed. We soon found out that the Government had planned that Gandhiji should be detained at Poona while the rest of us should be imprisoned in the Ahmednagar Fort Jail.

Bhulabhai was greatly disturbed by this news and that is why he was waiting for me. I was very tired and in no mood to listen to such rumours. I told Bhulabhai that if the news was true, I had only a few hours of freedom. It was better that I should have my dinner quickly and go to sleep so that I could face the morning better. I would rather sleep than spend my few hours of freedom in speculating about rumours. Bhulabhai agreed and soon I lay down to sleep.

I have always been in the habit of waking very early. This morning also I got up at 4 a.m. I was, however, still very tired and had a feeling of heaviness in my head. I took two aspirins and a cup of tea and settled down to work. It had been decided that we should send a copy of the resolution we had passed along with a covering letter to President Roosevelt. We felt that this was the least we could do in view of the interest he had been taking in the question of Indian freedom. I began to draft a letter to President Roosevelt but could not finish it. Perhaps because I was tired or perhaps because of the aspirin, I again felt drowsy and lay down to sleep.

I do not think I could have slept for more than fifteen minutes when I felt someone touch my feet. I opened my eyes and found Dhirubhai Desai, son of Bhulabhai, standing with a sheet of paper in his hand. I knew what it was even before Dhirubhai told me that the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, had brought this warrant for my arrest. He also told me that the Deputy Commissioner was waiting in the verandah. I told Dhirubhai to inform the Deputy Commissioner that I would take a little time to get ready.

I had my bath and then dressed. I also gave the necessary instructions to my Private Secretary, Mohammad Ajmal Khan, who had by now joined me. I then came out on the verandah. Bhulabhai and his daughter-in-law were talking with the Deputy Commissioner. I smiled at Bhulabhai and said that the information his friend brought last evening had proved correct. I then turned to the Deputy Commissioner and said, "I am ready!" It was then 5 a.m.

I got into the Deputy Commissioner's car. A second car picked up my belongings and followed us. We drove straight to the Victoria Terminus. It was time for the local trains but the station was completely empty. Perhaps all trains and passengers had been temporarily stopped. As soon as I got down from the car, I saw Asoka Mehta. He also had been arrested and brought to the Victoria Terminus. I realized that the Government had arrested not only the members of the Working Committee but also local leaders of the Congress in Bombay. I assumed that this was being done throughout India. There was a train waiting on the platform to which I was brought. An engine was then attaching a dining car to the train. It was a corridor train which usually ran on the Bombay-Poona line. I was taken to a compartment where I sat down by the window.

Almost immediately Jawaharlal, Asaf Ali and Dr. Syed Mahmud appeared on the scene. Jawaharlal told me that Gandhiji had also been brought to the station and put in another compartment. A European military officer came up to us and asked if we wanted tea. I had already had my cup but ordered some more.

At this stage a second military officer appeared and began to count us. Something was obviously puzzling him, for he counted us several times. As he came up to our compartment, he said aloud "Thirty!" When this had happened twice or thrice, I responded equally loudly and said, "Thirty-two!" This seemed to confuse him further and he started to count once again. Soon, however, the guard blew his whistle and the train started to move. I noticed Mrs. Asaf Ali standing on the platform. She had come to see her husband off. As the train started to move, she looked at me, and said, "Please don't worry about me, I shall find something to do and shall not remain idle." Later events showed that she had meant what she said.

I have already said that ours was a corridor train. Mrs. Naidu now came to our compartment and said that Gandhiji wanted to meet us. We walked down the corridor to his compartment which was some distance away. Gandhiji was looking very depressed. I have never seen him looking so dejected. I understood that he had not expected this sudden arrest. His reading of the situation had been that the Government would take no drastic action. I had of course warned him again and again that he was taking too optimistic a view but obviously he had placed greater faith in his own judgement. Now that his calculations had proved wrong, he was uncertain as to what he should do.

After we had talked for a minute or two, Gandhiji said, "As soon as you reach your destination, you should inform the Government that you wish to continue to function as Congress President. You should ask for your Private Secretary and other necessary facilities for the purpose. When you were arrested last time and detained in Naini Jail, the Government had provided you with these facilities. You should ask for the same facilities again, and if necessary make an issue of it!"

I could not agree with Gandhiji. I told him that the situation now was completely different. We had chosen our path with open eyes and must take the consequences. I could understand if he wanted me to fight on issues which had been adopted by Congress, but did not see how I could fight on a minor issue like the extension of certain personal facilities to me. I did not think that I would be justified in asking that my Private Secretary should be allowed to be with me so that I might carry on Congress work. This was hardly an issue on which I could fight in the present situation.

While we were talking, the Police Commissioner of Bombay, who also was in the train with us, came up. He asked us to return to our own compartment. He told me that only Mrs. Naidu could stay with Gandhiji. Jawaharlal and I then returned to our compartment. The train was now moving fast towards Kalyan. It did not stop there but took the route for Poona. I thought that perhaps we would be detained there, and my belief became stronger when the train stopped.

It seemed that the news of our arrest had somehow reached Poona. The platform was full of police and no member of the public was allowed on it. There was however a large crowd on the overbridge. As the train steamed in, they started to shout "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai!" No sooner was this slogan raised than the Commissioner ordered the police to make a lathi charge on the people. The Commissioner said that he had received Government orders that no demonstrations or slogans would be permitted.

Jawaharlal was sitting by the window. As soon as he saw that the police were making a lathi charge, he jumped out of the compartment and rushed forward crying, "You have no right to make a lathi charge!" The Police Commissioner ran after him and tried to bring Jawaharlal back into his compartment. Jawaharlal would not however listen to him and spoke angrily. By this time, another member of the Working Committee, Shankar Rao Deo, had also come out on the platform. Four policemen surrounded him and asked him to return to the train. When he refused to do so, they lifted him up bodily and carried him back. I called out to Jawaharlal that he should return. Jawaharlal looked angry but carried out my request. The Police Commissioner came up to me and said two or three times, "I am very sorry sir, but these are my orders and I must carry them out!"

From my window I saw that Mrs. Naidu and Gandhiji were taken out

of the train. We later learnt that they were detained in the Agha Khan's house, popularly known as Agha Khan Palace. Another arrested man from Bombay who had also got down wanted to go out on the platform, but the police prevented him. He would not desist till the police physically stopped him. I believe he was trying to act according to Gandhiji's instructions. It will be remembered that Gandhiji had said that on the occasion of the present movement, nobody should court arrest voluntarily. It was only when physical force was applied that men should agree to go to prison.

After Gandhiji had been taken away, the train, again, started to move. I now realized we were being taken to Ahmednagar. We reached the station at about 1.30 p.m. The platform was completely empty except for a handful of police officers and a single army officer. We were asked to get down and were put in waiting cars. They started immediately and did not stop till we arrived at the gate within the Fort. An army officer was standing there. The Commissioner of Police brought out a list and handed it to him. The army officer called out our names one by one and asked us to enter. The Police Commissioner was in fact handing us over to the military authorities. From now on we were under military control.

# **Quit India**

## ***India Wins Freedom***

**“I do not think I could have slept for more than fifteen minutes when I felt someone touch my feet. I opened my eyes and saw Dhirubhai Desai, son of Bhulabhai, standing with a sheet of paper in his hand. I knew what it was even before Dhirubhai told me that the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, had brought this warrant for my arrest.”**



## Quit India\*

When the resolution of the Working Committee was published, it created an electric atmosphere in the country. People did not pause to consider what were the implications, but felt that, at last, Congress was launching a mass movement to make the British quit India. In fact, very soon, the resolution came to be described as the “Quit India” resolution by both the people and the Government. The masses, like some of the members of the Working Committee, had an implicit faith in Gandhiji’s leadership and felt that he had some move in his mind which would paralyse the Government and force it to come to terms. I may here confess that there were also people who thought that Gandhiji would bring freedom for India by some magic or superhuman method and did not, therefore, think it necessary to make any special personal effort.

After passing the resolution, the Working Committee decided that it would wait for Government reaction. If the Government accepted the demand or at least showed a conciliatory attitude, there would be scope for further discussions. If, on the other hand, the Government rejected the demand, a struggle would be launched under Gandhiji’s leadership. I had little doubt in my mind that the Government would refuse to negotiate under duress. My anticipation was justified by the course of events.

A very large concourse of the foreign Press had come to Wardha as they were anxious to know what the Working Committee would decide. On 15 July, Gandhiji held a Press Conference. In reply to a question, he said that if the movement were launched, it would be a non-violent revolution against British power.

After the resolution was passed, Mahadev Desai (who was Gandhiji’s Secretary) told Miss Slade that she should go and meet the

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\* This is a chapter from Maulana’s *India Wins Freedom*, published posthumously in 1959. In his preface to the book, Humayun Kabir, Maulana’s amanuensis, states that it was with great difficulty that he was able to persuade Maulana to write his autobiography. Kabir also claims that Maulana had approved the entire manuscript a few days before he died. It was Maulana’s wish, according to Kabir, that thirty pages of the book be released to the public only after thirty years of his death. Consequently, the thirty pages were released in 1988.

Viceroy and explain to him the purport of the resolution. Miss Slade was the daughter of a British admiral but had adopted the Indian way of life under Gandhiji's influence. Popularly known as Mira Behn, she was one of his staunchest disciples and had lived for many years in his Ashram. It was suggested that she should also try to give an account of the nature of the proposed movement and how it would work. Miss Slade left Wardha to meet the Viceroy and requested an interview. The Private Secretary to the Viceroy replied that since Gandhiji had declared that he was thinking in terms of rebellion, the Viceroy was not prepared to grant her an interview. He made it clear that the Government would not tolerate any rebellion during the war, whether it was violent or non-violent. Nor was the Government prepared to meet or discuss with any representative of an organization which spoke in such terms. Mira Behn then met the Private Secretary to the Viceroy and had a long talk with him. I was at the time in Delhi and she reported her conversation to me. She then went back to Wardha and described the interview to Gandhiji.

Soon after this, Mahadev Desai issued a statement that there appeared to be some misunderstanding about Gandhiji's intentions. He said that it was not correct to say that Gandhiji had decided to launch an open non-violent rebellion against the British. I confess that Mahadev Desai's statement somewhat surprised me. The fact is that after Jawaharlal coined the phrase, Gandhiji had talked of non-violent revolution. He may have given some special meaning to it in his own mind, but to the general public his statement meant that Congress was now resolved to force the British Government to give up their power by adopting all methods short of violent insurrection. I have already said that I had anticipated the likely British reaction and was not, therefore, surprised by the Viceroy's refusal to meet Gandhiji or his representative. As already decided by the A.I.C.C., a meeting of the A.I.C.C. was called at Bombay on 7 August 1942, to consider the situation further.

From 14 July to 5 August, my time was taken up in a series of meetings with Congress leaders from different parts of the country. I wanted to impress on them that if the Government accepted our demand or at least allowed us to function, the Movement must develop strictly according to Gandhiji's instructions. If, however, the Government arrested Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, the people would be free to adopt any method, violent or non-violent, to oppose the violence of the Government in every possible way. So long as the leaders were free and able to function, they were responsible for the course of events, but if the Government arrested them, Government must take the responsibility for the consequences. Naturally, these instructions were secret and never made public. The picture as it presented itself to me was that Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces, the Central provinces, Bombay and Delhi were fully prepared and the Movement would be strong in these provinces. Assam was then

the centre of the British war effort and was full of army officers and men. As such, no direct action was possible there. Assam could, however, be reached only through Bengal and Bihar which gave an added importance to the programme in these two provinces. Regarding the other provinces, I did my best to create a proper atmosphere but I must confess that the picture was not very clear to me.

The refusal of the Viceroy even to receive Mira Behn made Gandhiji realize that the Government would not easily yield. The confidence he had in this regard was shaken but he still clung to the belief that Government would not take any drastic action. He thought that he would have enough time after the A.I.C.C. meeting to prepare a programme of work and gradually build up the tempo of the movement. I could not share his optimism. On 28 July, I wrote a detailed letter to him in which I said that the Government was fully prepared and would take immediate action after the Bombay meeting of the A.I.C.C. Gandhiji replied that I should not draw any hasty conclusions. He also was studying the situation and he still believed that a way out might be found.

On 3 August, I left Calcutta for Bombay. I was not absolutely sure but I had a premonition that I was leaving Calcutta for a long time. I had also received some reports that the Government had completed its plans and proposed to arrest all the leaders immediately after the resolution was passed.

The Working Committee met on 5 August, and prepared a draft resolution which was placed before the A.I.C.C. on the 7th. In my opening remarks, I gave a brief survey of the developments since the last meeting of the Committee. I also explained at some length the reasons which had led the Working Committee to change its attitude and call upon the nation to launch a struggle for India's freedom. I pointed out that the nation could not watch passively while its fate hung in the balance. India had sought to co-operate with the democracies, but the British Government made it impossible to offer honourable co-operation. Faced with the imminence of Japanese invasion, the nation was seeking to gain strength to resist the aggressor. The British could, if they wished, withdraw from India as they had withdrawn from Singapore, Malaya and Burma. Indians could not withdraw as it was their own homeland and must therefore develop the strength to shake off the British chain and withstand any attack by any new aggressor.

Except a handful of communists who opposed the move, all members of the A.I.C.C. welcomed the resolution drafted by the Working Committee. Gandhiji also addressed the meeting, and after two days' discussions, a resolution, endorsing the stand of the Working Committee, was passed with an overwhelming majority late on the evening of 8 August. The text of the resolution will be found in the Appendix.

During my visits to Bombay I generally stayed with the late Bhulabhai

# The Last Speech

## Parade Ground, Delhi

*Dekhna taqdir ki lazzat ke jo usne kaha  
Main ne yeh jana ke goya ye bhi mere dil mein hai.*

Mark, the savour of fate!  
Whatever he said  
I realized that he expressed  
Exactly what was soft spoken in my heart.

*Ghalib*

## The Last Speech\*

Mr. Chairman and Friends,

I believe that this meeting has been organised to discuss how the Urdu language can be given the place that it deserves in the life of our nation.

I am sure that you do not want to *impose* Urdu by erasing any other language from our linguistic map. While you *support* Urdu, I know that you do not *oppose* any other Indian language. As my friend Pandit Sunderlal has just said, not one single individual in this audience is against Hindi. I believe that this is the true spirit which will lead us to the promised path of satisfactory solution to this problem.

I recall that thirty or forty years ago, the issue was, "What should be the language of India?" Urdu supporters wanted Urdu, while the votaries of Hindi, were agitating for Hindi being designated the national language. This had become a contentious issue and each language stood poised as the rival of the other. Each party claimed that if the other language was adopted, their language would be totally wiped out. During those times people looked at this problem only from one point of view. Whenever the issue arose it was viewed on a one dimensional scale.

While these circumstances were prevailing, India became independent, and the Constitution had to be framed. After considerable discussion, the Constituent Assembly, by a majority vote, decided that Hindi would be the national language of India. This resulted in a basic change in the status of Urdu, it was no longer the rival language. Now that the Constitutional seal had been fixed on this issue, it became the duty of

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\* The Anjuman *Tarraqqi Urdu* held a conference, on February 15-17, 1958, to deliberate on the status of the Urdu language. The conference was held at the Parade Ground, which is adjacent to Delhi's historic Red Fort. It was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru. Maulana sat on the dais listening to Jawaharlalji's words of hope and encouragement. Among those who spoke later were Col. Bashir Husain Zaidi, Pandit Sunderlal, Maulana Hifzur Rahman (M.P.) and Dr. Tara Chand (MP). Exactly one week later, on 22 February, 1958, Maulana was to be buried in the very ground upon which he stood and spoke with deep conviction and hope, appealing to the loftier human instincts to rise above petty rivalries pertaining to language and culture.

every single loyal Indian, to accept the verdict without question.

The question arises what, then, is the status of Urdu? The simple answer is that its status is identical with that of the fourteen other Constitutional languages. Given the fact that the old bitterness still continues, several people still view it with hostility. That is certainly not the case nor is it the status of Urdu. The question about India's national language is no longer raised because Hindi has got the place which was ordained for it and the subject is now closed. It is now the duty of every Indian to defer to it. The fact remains, however, that Urdu still has to get its legitimate place, which it should receive without any misgivings. It should be remembered that acceptance of any language means that the Government as well as the people should equally accept it.

Urdu is a commonly spoken language. Not only in the North, in the South, as well, there are vast numbers of Urdu speaking people. You know that Urdu is spoken in the Hyderabad and Telingana. In Mysore, too, thousands speak Urdu. Similarly, Urdu is spoken and understood in several parts of Andhra and Madras. No need to say much about spoken Urdu in UP, Bihar, Delhi and Punjab; hundreds of thousands speak Urdu in these parts.

I am confident that the purpose of this conference will be fulfilled. The fact that the Prime Minister has inaugurated it is an indication of his support and raises the hope that it will achieve its objective.





## **PART IV**

### **Correspondence**



## Letters and Telegrams \*

### Letter to Mahatma Gandhi

*Al-Balagh*  
Printing & Publishing House  
45, Ripon Lane,  
Calcutta

6th December, 1921

My dear Mahatmaji,

I arrived here on the 2nd instant. On my arrival I came to know about the arrest of my co-worker Maulvi Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, the sub-editor of *Paigham*. During my absence a search was also made by the police who took away all the manuscripts and important notes made by me. It will be a great pity if I lose them.

The repression in Calcutta is much more severe than what we heard while at Bombay. The Government is determined to strike at the very root and crush the movement. The Viceroy, also, has declared his full support to any action taken by the Provincial Government to crush the movement. The people are however peaceful and I trust nothing harmful will be done.

Both the Congress and Khilafat Committes have invested Mr. Dass with full powers as their Dictator. The latter did so under the impression that I would not be coming back here in time. I do not think it wise now to interfere with these arrangements, as any change at this stage would prove detrimental to the sacred cause. It is for Mr. Dass now to prepare the course of Civil Disobedience for which Calcutta seems fairly prepared. Mr. Dass, it appears, is not keen about any such activities before the session of the coming Congress is over and thus whiles away the time. There is no real activity on the part of the Congress Committee here. The Central Congress Committee has practically no volunteers. All work so far was being done by the Khilafat volunteers numbering four thousand.

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\* Maulana had perfected the epistolary art. Its best expression is in the twenty letters he wrote from the Ahmednagar prison, which were compiled into a book entitled *Ghubar-i-Khatir*. Among other collections of letters compiled by Azad scholars are, *Makateeb-e-Abul Kalam* edited by Abu Salman Shahjehanpuri, and *Naqsh-e-Azad* edited by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. An unpublished handwritten collection of 107 letters and memoranda of Maulana Azad are housed in the manuscript section of National Archives, New Delhi. A few originals are available in the special collection of Jawaharlal Nehru Museum and Library. In this selection, we have included letters from Maulana Azad to Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, and vice versa, most of which are being published for the first time.

The services of these volunteers are now placed under Mr.Dass and he may utilise them as he thinks best. I have given my opinion without any interference.

What I wanted to do here at present, was to organise a successful *Hartal* on the 24th and to maintain peace and order, while the Government wishes otherwise. In this connection I have done my work among the Muslim community, and I am satisfied.

I beg to enquire whether I should stay on at Calcutta till the Congress? I came back here leaving a considerable amount of the work of the Central Khilafat Committee behind. A reply by wire will much oblige.

With due regards,

I am  
Your adoring brother,  
A.K.Azad

**Telegram to Mahatma Gandhi**

Ahmedabad

6.5.26

PLEASE TRY FOR SPECIAL CONGRESS SESSION IN JULY  
OR AUGUST TO CONSIDER HINDU MUSLIM QUESTION  
(STOP) THIS IS LAST CHANCE (STOP) IF DISREGARDED  
ALL EFFORTS USELESS FOR LONG TIME (STOP) AND  
INSTEAD OF NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM WHOLE  
COUNTRY WILL BE PLUNGED IN COMMUNAL RELIGIOUS  
STRIFE (STOP)

ABUL KALAM



### Letter to Maulana Azad

The Ashram,  
Sabarmati, 8.5.26

Dear Maulana Sahib,

I have your telegram. It was received after the All India Congress Committee session was over. But do you think that any purpose can be served by calling a Special Session of the Congress? It can be of use only when there is a policy or programme that requires confirmation by it. But unfortunately we have neither policy nor programme. On the contrary, the tallest among us distrust one another and even where there is no distrust there is no agreement as to facts or opinion.

Under the circumstances a Congress session can only accentuate the existing depression. It seems to me that time alone can solve the difficulty which seems to baffle us.

I wish that it was possible for us at least to devise means of ascertaining the causes and of defining the results of each riot. But it seems that we have become incapacitated even for this very simple work.

Yours sincerely,  
M.K.Gandhi

**Telegram to Mahatma Gandhi**

Calcutta  
October 19, 1932

MUSLIM LEADERS CONFERENCE UNANIMOUS NOT TO  
PRESS SEPARATE ELECTORATE IF OTHER DEMANDS  
ACCEPTED (STOP) IN PRESENT SITUATION NO BETTER  
SOLUTION POSSIBLE (STOP) YOUR ABSENCE HINDERING  
SUCCESS (STOP) BLESS US BY MESSAGE (STOP) AT LEAST  
TRUST GOVERNMENT WONT OBJECT (STOP)

ABULKALAM

### Telegram to Maulana Azad

October 20, 1932

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD  
CALCUTTA

THANKS FOR WIRE (STOP) FROM THIS PLACE OF  
SECLUSION I CAN ONLY SAY I WISH WITH ALL MY HEART  
THAT WE MAY ACHIEVE THE REAL UNITY BETWEEN  
HINDUS MUSLIMS AND SIKHS AS SYMBOL OF ALL-INDIA  
UNITY FOR WHICH YOU AND I AND OTHER CO-WORKERS  
HAVE BEEN WISHING AND PRAYING ALL THESE LONG  
YEARS (STOP) ON MERITS I MAY SAY NOTHING IN  
IGNORANCE OF FULL FACTS AND SITUATION (STOP) BUT  
FOR ME PERSONALLY WHAT IS ACCEPTABLE TO PARTIES  
CONCERNED WILL BE ACCEPTABLE (STOP) THEREFORE  
I WISH ALL SUCCESS TO YOU AND ALL OTHER  
FRIENDS WORKING FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF LONG  
DEFERRED PEACE IN THIS DISTRACTED COUNTRY OF  
OURS

GANDHI

**Letter to Maulana Azad**

Bardoli  
December 30, 1941

Dear Maulana Sahib,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay Resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation at the present in all wars on the ground, principally, of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay Resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letters could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed Independence of India. If such was my view, and I believed in the use of violence for gaining Independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that Independence, I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organization or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay Resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for free speech against all war with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely,  
M. K. Gandhi

## Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru

March 27, 1940

My dear Jawaharlal,

When on the 15th morning you handed me (on the train) the English version of my Address, I just skipped over it to form a general impression of the translation. I had no time until now to go through it at leisure. Now that I am comparatively free, I have made a close study of the document. The impression it has created on me compels me to shake off my usual reserve for the moment and offer my sincere tribute to your first rate intellect and your exceptional talents. Your mastery over English extends far beyond what I imagined until now. I dare say some of the most accomplished men of our day could hardly undertake to perform a task of such magnitude in so many days, whereas it took you just a few hours, and that too, without any special effort.

Translating, in a way, is much more difficult than composing in original. It is by no means easy to maintain the literary content of the original writing, and, at the same time, convey, through translation, the literary style of the writer. Only a person with equal command over both the languages could have attempted such a task. What particularly strikes me in your translation is the fact that no feature of the original has suffered through it, and you have conveyed my Urdu literary style so successfully in English that I should not be surprised if it occurs to the reader that the original was English and not Urdu!

An equally impressive feature is your remarkable grasp of the architectonic imagination from which the details flow. You have perfectly visualized my imagination which gave form and shape to my sentences and composition. In fact, you had a full picture of my theme when you started translating. Surely, it was a stupendous task, specially when my own compositions could not directly assist you.

In some places you have slightly changed the Urdu version and expanded or abbreviated it to suit the exegesis of the English rendering. I have carefully taken note of all these variations and I am happy to find that you have improved upon my writing in some cases. In no case has the spirit or the form of my writing suffered. Commenting on the Viceregal declaration I wrote as follows:-

*Safon par safey parh janey ke baad ba-mushkil is qadar  
bataney par mustanad hota hai...*

Now, *ba-mushkil* is the keyword of my metaphorical expression. While maintaining the background of my metaphor you have conveyed it as follows:

After reading page after page the curtain is at last lifted with hesitation. We have a glimpse...

What I wanted to convey through *ba-mushkil*, your expanded phrase brings out the meaning with greater emphasis, and I must confess that your version is more apt than mine. This is just to mention one among many such embellishments.

I expect to reach Allahabad probably on the 30th. I hope you will be staying in Allahabad until then.

Yours sincerely,  
A.K.Azad

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru  
Allahabad



### Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru

My dear Jawaharlal:

When Cabinet discussed the University Grants Commission Draft Bill, you had suggested that before presenting it in Parliament it should not sent to the universities for their recommendations.

After thinking it over I feel that it is unnecessary to send the draft Bill again to the Universities. If we do so, the result will be that a matter which has been considered settled will, once again, be subjected to unnecessary discussion.

As you are aware, I had called all the Vice-Chancellors to discuss the Bill. After two days of deliberations, they passed three resolutions. The Bill has been drafted in accordance with those resolutions. The Vice-Chancellors do not expect to be consulted again. They know that the Bill will be passed and the University Grants Commission constituted.

In this regard there is one basic question to consider. The state of the universities is quite deplorable both academically and administratively. Important changes should be made forthwith. If they are not made effectively, the adverse impact on national life will increase each day. According to the Constitution, university education is the responsibility of the Central Government. The Central Government can fulfil this responsibility only if an independent body is formed for the purpose. If you feel that Government should make a move if and when each and every Vice-Chancellor is in agreement, let me say that such a consensus is impossible. There are several individual Vice-Chancellors and members of the Executive who are responsible for the problem at the universities and who will never agree to any reform. Given these conditions it is useless to return the Bill again to the universities for their opinion. [If we do so] we may have to say goodbye to university education reform and drop the Bill altogether.

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English translation of an undated and unsigned draft in Maulana Azad's own handwriting, partly reproduced alongside.

اس سہم میں ایک بیاری سوال یہ ہے جس پر ہمیں غور کرنا  
 چاہیے۔۔۔ یونیورسٹیوں کی حالت ایکسٹریم اور ڈیمنشیشن دونوں  
 کے لحاظ سے سخت خراب ہو رہی ہے۔۔۔ یونیورسٹی رجیٹریشن میں  
 اہم تبدیلیاں فوراً ہونی چاہئیں اور اگر ہوشیار طبقہ پرنسپل  
 اور فکس ٹو نیشنل لائف کو روز بروز سخت نقصانات سے دوچار  
 ہونا پڑتا ہے۔۔۔ کانسٹیٹوشن میں یونیورسٹی رجیٹریشن کی دیکھ بھال  
 کا اختیار سنٹرل گورنمنٹ کو دیا گیا ہے، اور سنٹرل گورنمنٹ  
 جیسی دنیا فرض انجام کر سکتی ہے کہ ایک ڈیپارٹمنٹ باری اس  
 فرض سے قائل ہو۔۔۔ اب اگر آپ محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ گورنمنٹ  
 کو کوئی قدم رن کرنا چاہیے تو ٹھکانا چاہیے جب یونیورسٹیوں  
 کے موجودہ وارنٹس جنسٹروں میں سے ایک ایک آدمی اس  
 آزمائش کرے، تو میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس طرح کا اتفاق کبھی  
 نہیں ہو سکتا کیونکہ وارنٹس جنسٹروں اور ان کی کمیٹیوں کے

ممبروں میں کافی تعداد ایسے لوگوں کی ہے جو یونیورسٹیوں  
 کی خرابیوں کے لیے ذمہ دار ہیں اور کبھی اس اتفاق نہیں ہو سکتا  
 کہ کوئی دروازہ ریخارم کا کھلے۔۔۔ اس صورت میں بل بنانا  
 اور اسے بار بار رائے کے لیے یونیورسٹیوں کو بھجنا بیکار ہے  
 میں یونیورسٹی رجیٹریشن ریخارم کے مقصد کو گڈ بائی کہہ چکا ہوں  
 اور بل کو سب سے پہلے ڈراپ کر دینا چاہیے۔

The above paragraph in Maulana's handwriting is the original draft for the last paragraph in the adjacent letter. It is interesting to note Maulana's tendency to use English vocabulary as exemplified in his transliteration of English words into Urdu.

## Letter to Maulana Azad

Wardha  
May 16, 1940.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad  
The Mahal,  
Nainital.

My dear Maulana,

Thank you for your telegram agreeing to the 15th June for the Working Committee meeting. This date enables me to go to the Frontier Province and the Punjab. I have to be back in Bombay on June 21st.

Of course the Working Committee meeting should not be postponed just to suit individual convenience. If the situation demands it, it should be held regardless of other factors. I feel, however, and Mahatmaji agrees, that it is better for us to wait some time so that we might know how the present situation develops. Events are marching ahead rapidly and even a month may make a great deal of difference. Therefore from this point of view also, it is desirable not to have an early meeting of the Working Committee.

I came here today and had a talk with Mahatmaji. I was very glad to find that his reaction to international developments was more or less the same as mine. I wonder if you saw a statement I made to the press five or six days ago. I enclose a copy. I was sorry to read Rajendra Babu's press interview on that day. And now I learn from the Radio that Asaf Ali has issued some kind of appeal for political parties to come together and join in helping Britain and in organising our defence. I think it was very improper of Asaf Ali, as a member of the W.C., to issue such a statement. It must lead people to think the W.C. is prepared to adopt this line, and, so far as I know, this is certainly not going to be done.

Rajendra Babu has written a letter to Gandhiji and sent him a copy of his letter to you dated 14th May. At Gandhiji's suggestion I am sending a reply to him, a copy of which I enclose. This will give you some idea of how my mind is working. I hope that the U.P.P.C.C. which meets on the 18th will pass a resolution on these lines.

I am clear in my mind that our policy must remain unchanged and we must go ahead, as before, with our organisational and other preparations. Our enrolment and training of Satyagrahis must go on. I do not think that Satyagraha should be started soon, even if we are ready for it. But the

possibility of a loosening of Central authority demands that we should be ready to meet any situation that might arise.

To talk about our joining hands in the defence of India is ridiculous. Defence against whom? And to help the British Empire? I think this will be wrong and degrading, apart from the fact that we are not in position to do anything effective on those lines. Even the defence of India can only be undertaken by us on the lines of developing the Satyagraha organisation. I do not myself see any real danger of foreign invasion. I do see a danger of internal trouble. For that also we have no other remedy except on disciplined Satyagrahi lines.

I am quite clear that we must not budge an inch from the position we have taken up, and, what is more, we must not be caught in any trap laid out by the new British Government or the Viceroy. I think they are bound to take some step - invite Gandhiji and others, or make some other vague statement. Our answer to all this must be clear. We are not going to cooperate in the preservation of the Empire. The Independence of India must be recognised - not dominion status and the like and the people of India must frame their Constitution through a Constituent Assembly. No small group of men for this purpose will be accepted. It is only on this basis that we can talk. If this basis is not present, then there is no good talking.

The British Empire is doomed. It is almost a thing of yesterday already. And yet, such is human folly and arrogance, that the British Government in India continues to behave in an imperialist manner. There is not the slightest change. The Members of the British Parliament still patronise us and admonish us and behave, generally, in a manner which I find to be intolerable. If even catastrophic events cannot open their eyes to realities, I do not see why we should join the company of the blind.

To say that because Nazism is worse than British imperialism, therefore, we prefer to be ruled by the British, is to be at the height of degradation. If we are so helpless that we cannot look after ourselves, then the sooner we perish the better. We are not going to change masters. We shall fight against all domination.

Gandhiji has shown me your letter about Dr. Gopi Chand and the appointment of Sardar Sampooran Singh as leader of the Punjab Assembly Party. I entirely agree with you that this was improper but but I am not clear as to what should be done now. I am going to Lahore for two days soon to attend the Satyagraha camp. Iftikhar has invited me. If you have any directions to give me, please send them soon.

I enclose a copy of my reply to a correspondent of Gandhiji's. This also deals with the Akalis and the Congress.

My provisional programme is as follows. But the exact dates have not been fixed yet:

In Lucknow for P.C.C. meetings	May 18, 19, 20.
In Allahabad	May 21, 22, 23.
In Lahore	May 24, 25.
In Peshawar, etc.	May 26 to 30th.
In Srinagar, Kashmir	May 31st for a week.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd.  
Jawaharlal Nehru.

## Letter to Maulana Azad

Allahabad  
March 5, 1942

My dear Maulana,

I have your letter of the 3rd March about the women's branch of the A.I.C.C. office. I am not sending you a telegram as it is difficult to say much in a few words.

Your idea of having an advisory committee is good, but a committee spread out all over India can seldom meet. Still, it may occasionally meet to consider the problem as a whole. As for the appointment of such a committee, much depends on one's approach to the problem. That is, should there be more or less provincial representatives or at any rate representatives from the principal parts of India? Though theoretically this will look well, again, it will be difficult for them to meet.

One possible way of dealing with this matter is to have zonal representatives who, taken together, form an advisory committee. In appointing zonal representatives, to some extent, local provincial people will have to be consulted, though this need not be always necessary.

Anyway, a committee such as you suggest might be an improvement and would be helpful to Mrs. Kripalani. The names you have suggested are good. It is possible to suggest a few more names but it is difficult to pick and choose. Would not the presence of Sarojini Naidu on such a committee be desirable? Of course as a member of the Working Committee she need not join any such advisory committee and whenever necessary she can always be invited to the advisory committee meetings.

My own conception of the women's branch of the A.I.C.C. is that it should collect all material relating to women's activities in India, it should keep in touch with all women's organisations in India, it should particularly keep in touch with such women's work as is being done by Congresswomen and through Congress organisations, it should send such suggestions as may be desirable for the coordination of these various activities, and it should issue special directions to provincial Congress committees in this behalf. It cannot undertake direct work or organisation, etc.

Again, in the present crisis, attention should not be given to long distance programmes but rather to the immediate need. Women should address themselves to the local programmes of self-defence and self-sufficiency as outlined by the Congress. Their work will be chiefly confined to women. It is very important that this approach be made to



women as public morale depends greatly on how women feel and act. If they are given some work in their own local areas, they are less likely to give way to a feeling of helplessness and they will feel that they are parts of a larger cooperative enterprise. Immediate problems are arising in some places of molestation of women. This kind of thing is likely to increase as conditions deteriorate. To face this problem, women can be of great help, for it is essentially a psychological problem. My own little experience has been that women are anxious to know what they can do at present and any lead given to them will yield results. I am all against treating women as helpless human beings who cannot look after themselves and who must run away from the danger zone. At any time this is bad policy and makes them even more helpless than they are. In present circumstances it is completely pointless as you cannot limit the danger zone. Any and every place may become the danger zone and even the privacy of a house will not be outside this zone. So the only way to tackle the problem is to make women realise that they have to and can face it and to prepare them mentally and otherwise for this.

My sister, Vijayalakshmi, is going to Delhi this evening and she will discuss this matter with Aruna Asaf Ali. I am also sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Kripalani.

As you know, my sister is the President for this year of the All India Women's Conference and thus she as well as many other Congresswomen are functioning also through the Women's Conference. In some provinces, notably Gujarat, Congresswomen are controlling the Women's Conference. It is desirable that every cooperation should be given, whenever possible, to the Women's Conference in doing the work we think should be done. This may not be possible in all parts of India. Generally speaking, a duplication of organisations will lead to waste of efforts and energy.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **Miscellaneous Memorabilia**

### **Special Letters, Memos, Statements**

**These selections reflect interesting and unique facts of Maulana's personality. They have been collected from the National Archives, National Gandhi Museum and Library, Jawaharlal Nehru Museum and Library, and the unpublished manuscript collection of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations Library.**

یہ زمین ہے جاں موت کھانا موش نے پارے نئی قوتی  
 بیکوں کا مٹکا مٹکا بیدار کی تھا - مندوں مٹی لون  
 سکوں کا خون ایک ساتھ اور ایک وقت یہ اور  
 اسی موت کے خون ~~جسے ہلوں کو ہمارے~~  
 اندر ~~خون کا خون~~ دوڑا رہا تھا  
 سے ہم نے رنے لیے زندگی کا خون ہم بننا یا لے  
 بیس سال گزر گئے - ہر سال ہم ہر سال - اپریل  
 اس واقعہ کی یاد میں جمع ہوتے ہیں اور آج بھی  
 اسی تاریخ نے ہمیں یہاں جمع کر دیا ہے =  
 میں آج کل اسی سرزمین پر ہوں اسی مٹی اور تاریخ میں  
 ہر مندو مسلمان اور سکھ سے درخواب کر دینا کہ اس واقعہ  
 کی تلمذ یاد رنے دل کے ایک ایک ریشے پر بند  
 نازہ کرنے اور ~~بھ~~ پرانے وقت اور محل کا احسا  
 کر کے دیکھ کر ~~بھ~~ اس واقعہ نے زندگی اور  
 حرکت کا بوسہ عام ہیں دیا تھا وہ ہمارے  
 دل دماغ پر ثبت ہے یا محو ہو چکا ہے

**Jallianwala Bagh \***  
**Anniversary Message**  
**13 April, 1939**

**Jallianwala Bagh Day**

Here lies the patch of land wherever stillness of death gave birth to the tremendous urge of our new national struggle. It is here that the blood of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs mingled together in common martyrdom and was converted into the life-blood of the Indian Nation. Twenty long years have passed and every year on the 13th of April we assemble together to commemorate the event. On this very day of this month I appeal to the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs assembled together on this very spot to search their hearts carefully and see if the urge for new life and dynamic action arising from Jallianwala Bagh is still fresh in their mind and hearts.

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\* Original translation of the Jallianwala Bagh Anniversary Message.

## Message to Students\*

The children of today are  
the citizens of the future. They  
must therefore prepare themselves  
so that they can perform their  
arduous tasks with honour  
and dignity to themselves  
and glory to their country  
and their nation.

VICEREGAL LODGE  
SIMLA.

The children of today are the citizens of the future. They must therefore prepare themselves so that they can perform their arduous tasks with honour and dignity to themselves and glory to their country and their nation.

### Translation from Urdu

“The most important contribution that students can make to the Indian National Struggle is to themselves become an example of communal harmony, and by their example overcome the mutual distrust which exists among factions.

I hope your Union will make every effort to achieve this goal.”

\* Message from Jawaharlal Nehru to Kathiawar and Kutch Students' Convention held in Rajkot, 13 and 14 April 1940.

### Message to Students\*

چند طلبہ ہندوستان  
 کی فکر دردِ جسم میں سے آزاد  
 اہم ادا کردہ کنٹرول  
 جو کہ ہے وہ یہ کہ کمپوز  
 انکار کا نمونہ نہیں اور اس کو  
 کے وقت کی نام باقی ہے اعتماد  
 دوسرے کو سیشن دے کر  
 جو اس کے لئے ایک نیا  
 اس بات پر پوری کوئی

\* Message from Maulana Azad to Kathiawar and Kutch Students' Convention held in Rajkot, 13 and 14 April 1940.



## **Press Release**

The Hindustan Times, August 17, 1945

### **BEGUM AZAD FUND**

I have learnt from Press reports that in various parts of the country efforts are being made to raise funds for a memorial to the late Begum Azad. I am deeply grateful to all friends who have undertaken this labour of love, and I consider it my duty to inform them of my own feelings and views regarding this matter. I believe that, in deciding to raise public memorials to perpetuate anyone's memory, we must keep certain principles in view. Memorials should be raised only to persons who have rendered some distinct service to the country, or who occupy a special place in the estimation of the people on account of any personal distinction. Judged against this criterion the proposed memorial is hardly appropriate.

I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that I must request all friends who have so far collected funds for this purpose to close these funds and transfer the amount collected to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad. Once again I thank all these friends from the bottom of my heart.

## Press Release

17 April, 1946

### PAKISTAN AGAINST MUSLIMS' INTERESTS

As is well known, Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan scheme is based on his two-nation theory. His thesis is that India contains many nationalities based on religious differences. Of them the two major nations, the Hindus and Muslims, must as separate nations have separate States. When Dr. Edward Thompson once pointed out to Mr. Jinnah that Hindus and Muslims live side by side in thousands of Indian towns, villages and hamlets, Mr. Jinnah replied that this in no way affected their separate nationality. Two nations, according to Mr. Jinnah, confront one another in every hamlet, village and town, and he, therefore, desires that they should be separated into two States.

I am prepared to overlook all other aspects of the problem and judge it from the point of view of Muslim interests alone. I shall go still further and say that if it can be shown that the scheme of Pakistan can in any way benefit Muslims as such, I would be prepared to accept it myself and also to work for its acceptance by others. But the truth is that even if I examine the scheme from the point of view of the communal interests of the Muslims themselves, I am forced to the conclusion that it can in no way benefit them or allay their legitimate fears.

Let us consider dispassionately the consequence which will follow if we give effect to the Pakistan scheme. India will be divided into two States, one with a majority of Muslims and the other of Hindus. In the Hindustan State there will remain three-and-a-half crore Muslims scattered in small minorities all over the land. With 17 percent in U.P, 12 percent in Bihar and 9 percent in Madras, they will be weaker than they are today in the Hindu majority provinces. They have had their homelands in these regions for almost a thousand years and built up most well-known centres of Muslim culture and civilization there.

They will awaken overnight and discover that they have become aliens and foreigners, backward industrially, educationally and economically; they will be left to the mercies of what would become an unadulterated Hindu Raj.

On the other hand, their position within the Pakistan State will be vulnerable and weak. Nowhere in Pakistan will their majority be comparable to the Hindu majority in the Hindustan State. In fact, their majority will be so slight that it will be offset by the economical, educational and political lead enjoyed by non-Muslims in these areas. Even if this were not

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Statement issued to the Press and carried by newspapers on 16 and 17 April 1946. The version used here is the one circulated by the Associated Press.

so and Pakistan were overwhelmingly Muslim in population, it still could hardly solve the problem of Muslims in Hindustan. Two states confronting one another offer no solution to the problems of one another's minorities, but only lead to retribution and reprisals by introducing a system of mutual hostages. The scheme of Pakistan, therefore, solves no problems for the Muslims. It cannot safeguard their rights where they are in a minority, nor as citizens of Pakistan secure them a position in India or world affairs which they would enjoy as citizens of a major State like the Indian Union.

It may be argued that if Pakistan is so much against the interests of the Muslims themselves, why should such a large section of Muslims be swept away by its lure? The answer is to be found in the attitude of certain communal extremists among the Hindus. When the Muslim League began to speak of Pakistan, they read into the scheme a sinister pan-Islamic conspiracy and began to oppose it out of fear that it foreshadowed a combination of Indian Muslims with trans-Indian Muslim States. This opposition acted as an incentive to the adherents of the League. With simple though untenable logic, they argued that if Hindus were so opposed to Pakistan, surely, it must be of benefit to Muslims. An atmosphere of emotional frenzy was created which made reasonable appraisal impossible and swept away especially the younger and more impressionable among the Muslims. I have, however, no doubt that when the present frenzy has died down and the question can be considered dispassionately, those who now support Pakistan will themselves repudiate it as harmful for Muslim interests.

The formula which I have succeeded in making the Congress accept secures whatever merit the Pakistan scheme contains, while all its defects and drawbacks are avoided. The basis of Pakistan is the fear of interference by the Centre majority areas, as the Hindus will be in a majority in the Centre. The Congress meets this fear by granting full autonomy to the provincial units and vesting all residuary power in the provinces. It also has provided for two lists of Central subjects, one compulsory and one optional, so that if any provincial unit so desires it can administer all subjects itself except a minimum delegated to the Centre. The Congress scheme, therefore, ensures that Muslim majority provinces are internally free to develop as they will, but can, at the same time influence the Centre on all issues which affect India as a whole.

The situation in India is such that all attempts to establish a centralized and unitary government are bound to fail. Equally doomed to failure is the attempt to divide India into two states. After considering all aspects of the questions, I have come to the conclusion that the only solution can be on lines embodied in the Congress formula which allows room for development both to the provinces and to India as a whole. The Congress formula meets the fears of the Muslim majority areas to allay which the

scheme of Pakistan was formed; on the other hand, it avoids the defects of the Pakistan scheme which would bring the Muslims where they are in a minority under a purely Hindu Government.

I am one of those who consider the present chapter of communal bitterness and differences a transient phase in Indian life. It firmly holds that they will disappear when India assumes the responsibility for her own destiny. I am reminded of a saying of Mr. Gladstone that the best cure for a man's fear of the water was to throw him into it, for he would then learn to swim and realize that it is not so dangerous as it had seemed to his imagination. Similarly, India must assume responsibility and administer her own affairs. When India attains her destiny, she will forget the present chapter of communal suspicion and conflict and face the problems of modern life from a modern point of view.

Differences will no doubt persist, but they will be economic not communal. Opposition among political parties will continue but it will be based not on religion but on economic and political issues. Class and not community will be the basis of future alignments and policies will be shaped accordingly. If it be argued that this is only a faith which events may not justify, I would say that in any case the nine crores of Muslims constitute a factor which nobody can ignore, and, whatever the circumstances, they are strong enough to safeguard their own destiny.

## Significance of Asian Relations Conference\*

March, 1947

THE Asian Relations Conference, now holding its session in Delhi, is without parallel in recorded history. There were, no doubt, great congresses of the *bhikshus* in Buddhist India. Representatives attended them from Ceylon and Burma and far-off Indonesia. They were, however, exclusively religious in their purpose and confined only to votaries of Buddhism. They did not have the wide range of interests nor the variety of cultural, religious and national groups represented in the present Conference in Delhi.

Nadir Shah in the eighteenth century had also conceived of a great congress of Muslim divines. Dissensions among Shias and Sunnis threatened the unity of Islam. There were factions and divisions among the Sunnis and the Shias themselves. In an attempt to reconcile the rival and, at times, conflicting claims, a great gathering of the ulema was summoned in Baghdad.

There were representatives from Iran, Iraq, Bokhara, Samarkand and other centres of Muslim religious thought and learning. Like the congress of Buddhist monks in ancient India, this also was a religious conference confined to the followers of one faith. It also lacked the many-sidedness of human life reflected in the Asian Relations Conference.

This, then, is the first time when the people of Asia have met on a common platform to discuss problems common to them. They will compare the aspects and inner motives of their urge to national freedom. They will seek to unravel the roots of their common culture and find out reasons for affinities and dissonance. They will try to understand the economic forces which have shaped the variety of their social forms and define common measures by which the masses may achieve a fuller and free life.

The delegates include women from many lands and they will, for the first time in recorded history, discuss their own problems as the women of Asia.

Such a gathering has never before taken place and it would be a great pity if the Conference ended without laying the foundations of a permanent structure for the co-operation of the peoples assembled here. The shape of such an organization cannot perhaps be laid down here and now, but suggestions on the lines of future work should be discussed during the Conference.

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\* Specially written for *The Hindustan Times Supplement*

I feel that there should be an Institute with a standing committee consisting of representatives of all the participating countries. The Institute should not only arrange for conferences in different countries from time to time, but also build up libraries where the modern literature of all these lands is collected. The Institute should also bring out, at least, a quarterly journal, if not a monthly, in which questions affecting the various Eastern peoples are discussed in a spirit of understanding and co-operation.

We are all glad that it fell to India to serve as the pioneer in this movement of integration of the Asian peoples. The time has, however, come when a further step ought to be taken. Our world is no longer the dream of idealists, but a bare statement of existing facts. Distance and time have been subjected to the purposes of human unity. This Asian Conference should, therefore, draw the outlines of the World Cultural Conference in which not only Eastern but Western peoples may also participate.

I congratulate the pioneers of the Conference on their vision and wisdom in defining the spirit of the Conference as non-political and non-partisan. In such a cultural Conference there is no room for narrow politics, nor is there any room for any petty communal or party character. I have no doubt that the Conference will be inspired by a broad humanistic and cultural outlook and create understanding and fellow-feeling among all participants.

We are grateful to all who have accepted the invitation of India. They have come from afar and I have every hope that when they go back to their countries, they will carry with them the message of India's friendship and goodwill.

## THE EID MOON

We have evolved modern methods which ensure that information reaches us on time, and we should make the fullest use of them. In India we should adopt a method which ensures uniformity for Eid and for the first of Ramzan.

The difficulties that arise in this regard are that ulemas are not prepared to step out of their narrow orbits. Furthermore, they express doubt about the “health” of news conveyed on the wireless. We should, nevertheless, keep on trying. Hopefully, people will become receptive to these ideas in course of time.

*A note dictated in reply to a letter dated  
18 July, 1953 from Mohammed Saleh.*



# **PART V**

## **Chronology of Events**



## Life of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1888	Birth in Mecca 17th August, or Zil Hij, 1305 A.H.
1892	Bismillah Ceremony.
1898	Return to India.
1898	Started writing poetry.
1899	Death of mother.
1899	Started monthly <i>Nariang-e-Khayal</i> from Calcutta.
1900 or 1901	Marriage.
1901	Started weekly <i>Al-Misbah</i> 22nd January.
1902	Oldest publication, <i>Elan-ul-Haq</i> , 5th January.
1902	Edited weekly <i>Ahsan-ul-Akhbar</i> , Calcutta.
1903	Completed <i>Dars-e-Nizami</i> curriculum of study.
1903	Assistant editor monthly <i>Khadang-e-Nazar</i> , Lucknow, March.
1903	Editor <i>Edward Gazette</i> , Shahjehanpur.
1903	Started <i>Lisan-ul-Sidq</i> , 20th November.
1904	Attended the annual session of <i>Anjuman Himayat-ul-Islam</i> , Lahore 1st to 3rd April.
1905	Attended annual session of <i>Anjuman Himayat-ul-Islam</i> , Lahore and spoke on “Islam in Future”.
1905	Last issue of <i>Lisan-ul-Sidq</i> was printed by Agra’s famous Mufeed-e-Am press April, May.

- 1905 Visit to Iraq.
- 1905 Assistant editor, monthly *Al Nadwa*, Lucknow, October.
- 1906 Left *Al Nadwa*, March.
- 1906 Editor, *Vakil*, published every third day from Amritsar, April.
- 1906 Death of elder brother Abu Nasr Yasin Aah.
- 1906 Left *Vakil* and returned to Calcutta, November.
- 1906 Attended the session of Muslim Educational Conference at Dacca. At this session Muslim League was formed, December.
- 1907 Editor, weekly *Dar-ul-Saltana*, Calcutta, January .
- 1907 Once again was appointed editor of *Vakil*, Amritsar August.
- 1908 Resigned from *Vakil* because of father's grave illness, August.
- 1908 Death of father, 15th August.
- 1908, 1909 Tour of West Asia and France.
- 1912 Started weekly *Al-Hilal*, 13th July.
- 1913 Security of Rs.2,000 was demanded from Al-Hilal Press on 18th September, which was furnished on 23rd September.
- 1914 The combined issue of 14th and 21st October was proscribed by the Government of Bengal, October.
- 1914 Security was forfeited and a fresh security of Rs.10,000 was demanded, 16th November.
- Because security could not be furnished *Al-Hilal's* publication was discontinued after bringing out the issue of 18th November.
- 1915 Weekly *Al-Balagh* was started, 12th November.

Government of Bengal ordered him,, under Section 3 of *The Defence Act*, to leave Calcutta as also the limits of Bengal within four days. Subsequently, this period was extended to one week.

The Governments of Delhi, Punjab and U.P. had already banned his entry in their respective provinces.

Because he was banished from Calcutta, *Al-Balagh* was discontinued after the 17th, 24th and 31st. March issues.

- 1916 Reached Ranchi (Bihar) and stayed in Morabadi, outside the city. After a few days he was interned there under the orders of the Central Government, 7th April.
- 1919 Wrote *Tazkirah* and “*Jama-ul-Shawahid fi-Dakhul-e-Ghair Muslim fil Masajid.*”
- 1920 Released, 1st January.
- 1920 As President of Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee, appealed for Non-cooperation with the Government. 28th, 29th February.
- 1920 Wrote “*Masla-e-Khilafat aur Jazirat-ul-Arab*”. English and Pashtu translations of this work were published respectively from Bombay and Peshawar. Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg translated it into English and Malik Saida Khan Shanwari into Pashtu.
- Presided over the session of All India Khilafat Conference, Nagpur.
- 1921 For the propagation of Non-cooperation Movement, weekly *Paigham* was started under his supervision, 23rd September.
- 1921 Presided over the session of Provincial Khilafat Committee, Agra, 25th October.
- 1921 Presided over the session of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind at Lahore. 18th-20th November.

- 1921 Was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and was lodged in Presidency Jail, Alipur, 10th December.
- 1922 The statement given in this case is known as *Quol-e-Faisal*. Its Arabic translation was published in Cairo and Turkish translation in Constantinople. It was translated into Arabic by Maulana Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, and into Turkish by Umar Raza, editor, *Jahan-e-Islam*, Constantinople.
- 1922 Released, 6th January.
- 1923 To popularize Indian Liberation Movement in the Arab world a fortnightly *Al Jāmia* in Arabic was started under his supervision. 1st April.
- 1923 Presided over the Special Session of All India National Congress at Delhi. 15th September.
- 1925 Presided over the session of All India Khilafat Committee, Kanpur, 29th December.
- 1927 *Al-Hilal* was re-started, 10th June.
- 1927 *Al-Hilal* stopped publication after the issue of 9 December.
- 1929 President, Muslim National Party, 27th July.
- 1930 Officiating President of All India National Congress.
- 1931 Arrested.
- 1931 *Tarjuman-ul-Quran, Vol.I*, September 2.
- 1932 Arrested.
- 1936 *Tarjuman-ul-Quran, Vol.II*. April.  
(*Tarjuman-ul-Quran, Vol.I & Vol.II* have been translated into English by Syed Abdul Lateef, published in India and Pakistan.)
- 1939 Officiating President of All India National Congress.
- 1940 Was elected President of All India National Congress and held this position till 1946.

- 1940                      Presided over the All India National Congress Session, Ramgarh, 19th March.
- 1940                      Arrested, sentenced for two years and transferred to Naini Jail.
- 1941                      Released, 4th December.
- 1942                      Negotiations with Cripps' Mission, March and April.
- 1942                      Arrested and detained in the Fort of Ahmednagar, 9th August.
- 1943                      Wife died in Calcutta, 9th April.
- 1943                      Younger sister Hanifa Begum Abru died in Bhopal, June.
- 1945                      Transferred from Ahmednagar to Bankura, April.
- 1945                      Released, 15th June.
- 1945                      Attended Simla Conference, 16th June.
- 1946                      *Ghubar-i-Khatir* and *Karwan-i-Khayal* published.
- 1946                      Negotiations with Cabinet Mission, April-June.
- 1947                      Joined Interim government as Education Minister, 15th January.
- 1947                      Education Minister in the first government of Independent India, 15th August.
- 
- 1951                      Deputy leader of Congress Parliamentary Party.
- 1952                      Elected Member of Parliament in the first General Elections.
- Minister for Education, Natural Resources and Scientific Research.
- 1955                      Elected Deputy Leader of Congress Parliamentary Party.
- 1956                      Good-will mission to Europe and West Asia.
- Presided over the 9th Unesco General Conference held in Delhi, May to July.



- 1957 Elected Member of Parliament in the second General Elections and was again appointed Minister for Education and Scientific Research.
- 1958 Last speech delivered at the session of Ajuman Tarraqi-e-Urdu , held in Delhi, 15th February.
- 1958 Died. Buried in Urdu Park in front of Jama Masjid, Delhi, 22nd February.

**PART VI**  
**MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD**  
**A Bibliography**

میری تصویر کے یہ نقش ذرا غور سے دیکھ  
اس میں ایک دور کی تاریخ نظر آئے گی

*Meri tasveer ke ye naqsh zara gaur se dekh*  
*Is mein ek daur ki tarikh nazar ayegi.*

Look intently at the tracings on my picture  
You will see etchings of a bygone era.



## Introduction

During his lifetime Maulana Azad presented his personal collection of about 8000 volumes to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations library. The collection consists of original documents and rare books on subjects such as history, philosophy, religion, geography and literature. In addition to these books, the library has in its possession a number of his hand-written manuscripts, original notes, and original drafts of his official and semi-official letters. All these documents are immensely valuable for scholars, and are available only for reference at the ICCR Library.

Maulana Azad was an institution in himself. Whatever he spoke or wrote, has assumed a profound significance in oratory and journalism. Maulana's own writings on philosophy, religion, literature, politics, history, and geography are classics. Apart from his own writings there are several volumes written on him by various Indian and foreign scholars. Although he has evoked substantial scholarly interest, research scholars still have a lot of ground to cover in Azad studies. They are handicapped by the lack of a proper guide which can help them in their research. To fill this gap the Council decided to compile and publish an exhaustive bibliography on Maulana Azad. What has been produced here is a definitive bibliography of Maulana's own writings, and a select bibliography of works on Maulana, including articles and books.

The major aim of the second part of this bibliography is to list the most significant books and periodical articles that have appeared during the last seventy-five years, thereby provide the base for further research, discussion and comprehensive analysing of the subject.

A survey of literature on Maulana Azad reveals that most of the works of scholars of Azadiyat are biographical sketches and catalogues of events of his life. There are very few analytical works, which examined and evaluate his ideas and philosophy. Considering the corpus of his work this research is far too limited. There is a need for several detailed studies in order to fully appreciate his place in the history of Indian Independence. This bibliography is the first step towards providing the research tool for further study of Maulana's works.

### Arrangement

This bibliography is divided into two Sections. Section I has two parts- A and B. Part A contains books by Maulana Azad and part B consists of periodicals and magazines edited and co-edited by him.

Section II has three parts - A, B, C. Part A contains books on Maulana Azad, Part B contains articles and editorials on Maulana Azad which appeared in newspapers and periodicals, and Part C is a list of special "Azad" numbers of periodicals and magazines.

In Section I part A, works by Maulana Azad are alphabetized by title entires followed by other bibliographical details. In part B, the periodicals edited and co-edited by him are arranged in alphabetical order under the name of the periodical.

In Section II part A, the bibliographical references are alphabetized according to the name of the author. The articles and editorials from newspapers and periodicals comprising part B are listed in alphabetical order under the name of author or title. For each article, reference is made to the publication, including its volume, date of issue, and pages on which the article appears. In part C, the titles of special "Azad" numbers are arranged in alphabetical order.

Since the publications listed in this bibliography are in Arabic, English, Hindi, Persian, Sindhi and Urdu, the following alphabets are used in brackets at the end of each main entry, indicating the language of the publication:

- A - Arabic
- E - English
- H - Hindi
- P - Persian
- S - Sindhi
- U - Urdu

Gulzar Naqvi  
Pakeeza Sultan

# Section I

## Works by Maulana Azad

### A—Books

1. *Abul Kalam ke Afsane*. Ed. by Abdul Ghaffar Shakeel. Aligarh, Sir Syed Book Depot, 1961. (U).

A collection of the following essays:

1. Maulana Azad aur Afsana-Nigari. (ed. note). pp. 5-8: 2. Mohabbat. pp. 9-36. 3. Haqiqat Kahan Hai. pp. 37-47. 4. Haulnak Raat. pp. 48-57. 5. Napoleon Par Dusra Hamla pp. 58-62. 6. Sauda Binte Ammara. pp. 63-67. 7. Arvi Binte Al-Haris. pp. 68-73. 8. Chirya Chire ki Kahani. pp. 74-95. 9. Shaheed-e-Rasm. pp. 96-99. 10. Qumar Baz. pp. 100-103.

2. *Abul Kalam ki Kahani Khud Unki Zabani*. Comp. by Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi. Lahore, Chattan, 1960. (U).

A biography of Maulana Azad narrated by him to Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, who was his fellow prisoner in 1921. The book covers the events from Maulana's early life when he was influenced by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

3. *Afsana-e-Hijr-o-Visal*. Lahore, Al-Hilal Book Agency, 1935. (U)

The book deals with the basic doctrine of Islam, that a man should not deviate from the right path shown by religion.

4. *Ahrar-e Islam*. Lucknow, Siddique Book Depot, n.d. (U).
5. *Ailanul Haq*. Calcutta, Usmania Press, 1898. (U).

Discussion on the religious importance of the appearance of moon, and *fatva* on the subject by Maulana Khairuddin, father of Maulana Azad.

6. *Al-Beruni aur Jughrafiya-e-Alam*. Ed. by Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi. and Masihul Hasan. Delhi, Dr. Zakir Husain Institute of Islamic

Studies. 1988. (U).

A biographical sketch of Al-Beruni, traveller, scholar and researcher on world geography.

7. *Al-Din wal-Siyasat. Bijnor*, Malik Kutab Khana, n. d. (U).

Discusses how religion and politics are interrelated according to Islam.

8. *Al-Harab-fil-Qur'an. Al-Hilal*. Calcutta, 1922. (U).

9. *Al-Hilal ke Tabsare*. Comp. by Mahmood Ilahi. Lucknow, U.P. Urdu Academy, 1988. (U).

A collection of selected editorials published in various issues of *Al-Hilal*.

10. *Al-Hurriyat-fil-Islam*. Ed. by Mushtaq Ahmad. Meerut, Qaumi Dar-ul-Isha'at, 1921. (U).

A detailed discussion on the democratic set-up of an Islamic Government and its comparison with European Governments.

11. *Al-Jihad fi Sabil-Allah*. Moradabad, Nizamia Khilafat Store, n.d. (U).

Explains the significance of Jihad and narrates several religious events of Islamic history.

12. *Al-Sayyada Fatima Bint-e-Abdullah*. n.p., n.d. (U).

13. *Al-Tabligh*. Reprint from *Peshwa* (Delhi). 1934. Karachi, Azad Research Institute, n.d. (U).

In this speech Maulana Azad has discussed the teachings of Islam, their importance and necessity.

14. *Amar bi'l Ma'ruf*. Lahore, Al-Hilal Book Agency, 1946. (U).

A collection of essays published in *Al-Hilal*.

15. *Ambiya-e-Kiram*. Ed. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Lahore, Shaikh Ghulam Ali. 1972. (U).

16. *Armughan-e-Azad: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ka Kalam aur Unke Ibtidai Mazamin*. ed. Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri. Karachi, Azad Akademi. 2nd rev. ed. 1978. (U).

A collection of the early writings of Maulana Azad.

17. *'Uruj-o-Zawal ka Qur'ani Dastoor*. Lahore, Bazm-e-Isha't, 1964. (U).

Contains the following writings:

1. Ummat-e-Muslema 2. Haqiqat-e-Islam 3. Wahdat-e-Ijtimaiya 4. Markaz-e-Qaumiyat 5. Jughrafiya-e-Markaz 6. Fikr-e-Wahdat aur Fikr-e-Markaz'yat 7. 'Uruj-o-Zawal ka Fitri Usul 8. Azmo-



- Istaqamat 9. Tajdeed-o-Taseer 10. Kamiyabi ki Char Manzilen.
18. *Ashab-e-Kehef*. Delhi, Sitara-i-Hind Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
Describes an episode referred to in the Quran.
19. *Aulia ul Allah wa Auliaush Shaitan*. Lahore, Al-Hilal Book Agency, 1935. (U).  
The philosophy of constant struggle between good and evil is discussed in this book with reference to the verses of the Quran.
20. *Aurton ki Azadi aur Faraiz*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
The duties of women and their place in the society. A woman gives birth, protects and trains. It is a natural instinct which must not be suppressed.
21. *Azad ki Taqriren*. Ed. by Anwar Arif. Delhi, Adabi Duniya, 1961. (U).  
A collection of speeches delivered by Maulana Azad on different occasions.
22. *Azadi-e-Hind: An Urdu translation of India Wins Freedom* by Rais Ahmad Jafri. Lahore, Haq Book Academy, 1959.  
Describes the political events of the freedom struggle.
23. *Azadi ki Kahani*. Tr. by Mahendra Chaturvedi. Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1965. (H).  
Hindi translation of *India Wins Freedom*.
24. *Azim Shakhsiyaten*. Lahore, Idara-e-Ta'arruf. n. d. (U).
25. *Azmat-o-Dawat*. Delhi, Naaz Publishing House, n.d. (U).  
History of Islam and Muslim rulers. A discussion on the role of ulemas who were compelled to give judgements according to the will of the ruler of their time, and the arguments of reformers who spoke against them.
26. *Azkar-e-Azad*. Ed. by S. Abbas Hami Madrasi. Lahore, Qamruddin. n.d. (U).  
A collection of Maulana's writings.
27. *Ba'ikat (Boycott)*. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha'at, 1921. (U).
28. *Baqiyat-e-Tarjumanul Qur'an*. Comp. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Delhi, Isha'atul Kitab, 1962. (U).  
Translation, interpretation and commentary of various verses and Surahs of Qur'an as the third volume of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*.
29. *Basic Concepts of the Qur'an*. Tr. by Syed Abdul Lateef. Hydera-

bad, Academy of Islamic Studies, 1958. (E).

The ideology of Qur'an as articulated by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. in *Surah-e-Fatiha*. This is an excellent introduction to the study of Qur'an.

30. *Bunyadi Tasawwurat-e-Qur'an*. Tr. into Urdu by Syed Abdul Lateef. Hyderabad, Academy of Islamic Studies, 1960. (U).

An Urdu translation of *Basic Concepts of the Qur'an*.

31. *Chand Auraq: Muqaddama-i-Quran*. Calcutta, Al-Balagh Press, n.d. (U).

Introduction to the *Tarjuman-ul-Quran* printed separately. These pages were printed at the Al Balagh Press, but were not included in the *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*. They were found in the personal collection of Maulana Azad presented by him to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, Signed, Mohd. Ajmal Khan.

32. *Dars-e-Wafa*. Delhi, Usmania Kutab Khana, n.d. (U).

A collection of stories.

33. *Dastan-e-Karbala*. ed. by Mohd. Abdul Rahman Said. Karachi, Nafis Academy, 1956. (U).

The martyrdom of Imam Husain and his family in Karbala.

34. *Da'wat-e-'Amal*. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha'at. 1920. (U).

An essay published in *Al-Hilal*, 1 July, 1914. Also reprinted at Swaraj Printing Works, Delhi.

35. *Da'wat-e-Haq*. Delhi, Kitab Khana, n.d. (U).

Story of the Abbasid Caliph Mamoon Rashid of Baghdad, and Sheikh Abdul Aziz Al Kanani of Mecca, and their conflict over "Motazel" belief.

36. *Faisla-i-Muqaddama-i-Jama Masjid*. Calcutta, Mutawwalian-i-Jama Masjid, 1339 A.H. (U).

A dispute of the Nakhuda Masjid of Calcutta about the misuse of Trust Funds. Finally the dispute was withdrawn from the High Court of Calcutta and brought to Maulana who gave his verdict for settlement.

37. *Falsafa: Usul-o-Mobadi ki Raushni me*. Tr. from English by Mohd. Waris Kamil. Delhi, New Taj Publishers, n.d. (U).

An Urdu translation of Maulana Azad's preface to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*. Also contains an article on Maulana Azad by Jawaharlal Nehru.

38. *Ghubar-i-Khatir*. Ed. by Malik Ram. New Delhi, Sahitya

Akademi, 1967. (U).

A collection of letters by Maulana Azad written during his imprisonment in the Fort of Ahmednagar, August 1942 to June 1945. These letters, addressed to Nawab Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani, were never delivered.

39. *Ghubar-e-Khatir*. Tr. into Hindi by Madan Lal Jain. Delhi, Sahitya Akademi, 1959. (H).

A Hindi version of *Ghubar-e-Khatir*.

40. *Haqqiqat-us-Salat*. Benaras, Darul Kutub, n.d. (U).

An Address on Namaz.

41. *Hamari Azadi: Ek Tarikh jo Aapbiti Bhee Hai*. Bombay, Orient Longman, 1961. (U).

An Urdu translation of “*India Wins Freedom*” by Mohd. Mujeeb.

42. *Hazrat-Yusuf-Alaihis-Salam*. Delhi, Chaman Book Depot, n.d. (U).

An essay on Hazrat Yusuf. Also published by Eitegad Pub. 1987.

43. *Hindustan par Hamla aur Musalmanon ke Fara'iz*. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha'at, 1921. (U).

44. *'Ida'in* ('Idul Fitr', 'Idul Zuha'). Delhi, Jayyid Press, 1956. (U).

A discussion on the significance of two Muslim festivals 'Idul Fitr' and 'Idul Zuha'.

45. *Ifadat-i-Azad*. Ed. by Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri and rev. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Karachi, Idara-i-Tasneef-o-Tahqiq, (1968). (U).

Later on published by the same publisher in 1989. This is a collection of answers to the queries on various aspects of religion and Urdu literature published in Maulana's periodicals.

46. *Imamul Hind Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ka Faisla aur Maler Kotla ka Niza*. Maler Kotla, Anjuman Ahle Hadees, 1954. (U).

Dispute about the appointment of the Imam of the Mosque of Ahle-Hadees in Maler Kotla. The dispute became so serious that Maulana Azad was approached to give his verdict for settlement.

47. *India Wins Freedom*. the complete version released after 30 years. 2nd edition. Madras, Orient Longman, 1988. (E).

An autobiographical narrative of Maulana Azad written by Humayun Kabir, first published in 1958 excluding about 30 pages. After 30 years, in 1988, the complete text was released.

48. *Insaniyat Maut Ke Darwaze par*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, 1958. n.d. (U).  
In this essay Maulana describes the last moments of 39 famous personalities of Islam, their feelings at the time of death showing how they accepted it as a fact of life.
49. *Intikhab-e-Al-Hilal*. Lahore, Adabistan, n.d. (U).  
A selection of writings from *Al-Hilal*. Also published in 1958 and 1961 from Lahore.
50. *Intikhab-i-Tazkirah*. Ed. by Mahmood Ilahi. Lucknow, U.P. Urdu Academy, 1988. (U)  
Selective compilation of the *Tazkirah*.
51. *'Isa'iyat ka Mas'la*. Karachi, Idara-i-Farogh-e-Adab, 1964. (U).  
Maulana's views on Christianity and its preachings.
52. *Islam aur Azadi*. Delhi, Sabri Publishers, 1957. (U).  
Deals with the principles of Islam based on liberty and fraternity of human beings.
53. *Islam aur Masihiyat*. Delhi, Taj Urdu Academy, 1965. (U).  
Certain christian preachers criticised Islam and created doubts about the character of the Prophet. Originally this was one of the articles published in *Al-Hilal*.
54. *Islam aur Nationalism*. Lahore, Al-Balagh Book Agency, 1929. (U).  
Nationalism is one of the basis of Islam. Maulana describes how Islam teaches the elements of nationalism, and how it has become the need of the day.
55. *Islam ka Nazaria-i-Jung*. Ed. by Ibn. Rai, Lahore, Basat-e-Adab, 1965. (U).  
A collection of the speeches of Maulana Azad in which he describes that war or struggle against oppression and injustice, is permitted in Islam. He proves this ideology by quoting from the Holy Quran and from the sayings of Prophet Mohammad.
56. *Islami-Masa'il*. Delhi, Shahzad Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
In this essay Maulana discusses in detail the philosophy of righteousness and evil.
57. *Ittehad-e-Islami*. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Ish'at, n.d. (U).  
Speech on unity, 27th Oct 1914. This was published five times, including one edition by Maktba-i-Hashmi, Meerut in 1914.
58. *Jamiush Shavahid fi Dakhul-e-Ghairul Muslim fi'l Masajid*.

Delhi, Maktaba-e-Mahaul, 1960. (U).

Deals with rules regarding the entry of non-Muslims in a mosque. The discussion, supported by the references from the Quran and quotations from the Hadith, states that if the entry of non-Muslims helps to serve the purpose of missionary activities and publicity of Islam, there should be no ban on it. This essay is evidence of Maulana's profound knowledge of Hadith and Fiqah. Also published by Darul Musaniffeen, Azamgarh, n.d.

59. *Jehad aur Islam*. New Delhi, Sahitya Akademi. 1974. (U).

Maulana has expressed his thoughts on *Jehad*, its meaning, and importance.

60. *Karvan-e-Khayal*. Ed. by Mohd. Abdul Shahid Khan Sherwani. Bijnor, Medina Press, 1946. (U).

A collection of letters written by Maulana Azad to Sadar Yar Jung Habib-ur-Rehman Khan Sherwani during the period 4 September 1940 to 12 November 1946.

61. *Khilafat and Jaziraul Arab*, Bombay, Central Khilafat Committee, 1920. (E).

The address of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad delivered at the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference on 18 February 1920.

62. *Khuda ki Hasti*. Ed. by Mohd. Rafiq Choudhary. Delhi, Shaheen Book Centre, 1988. (U).

Religious ideas of Maulana Azad particularly about the existence of God.

63. *Khutba-e-Sadarat*. Congress Special Session, Delhi, 15 September 1923. Delhi, Reception Committee, 1923. (U).

Presidential Address by Maulana Azad.

64. *Khutba-e-Sadarat*. 53rd Session, Indian National Congress, Ramgarh, 1940. Congress Reception Committee, 1940. (U).

Presidential Address by Maulana Azad.

65. *Khutba-e-Sadarat*. Kanpur, All India Khilafat Conference. 1925. (U).

Presidential Address delivered at the annual meeting of All India Khilafat Conference held on 24 December, 1925 at Kanpur.

66. *Khutba-e-Sadarat*. *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind*. Lahore, 1921. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha'at. 1921. (U).

Presidential address delivered by Maulana at the conference of Jamiat-ul-'Ulema-e-Hind at Lahore, in 1921. In this address Maulana emphasizes the need for Hindu Muslim unity for the struggle against foreign rule.

67. *Khutbat-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. Ed. by Shorish Kashmiri, Lahore, Al-Manar Academy, n.d. (U).

A collection of the following speeches by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. 1. Speech at Calcutta, 1914. 2. Provincial Khilafat Committee, Agra. 3-4. Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, Lahore. 5. Provincial Khilafat Committee, Bengal, 1920. 6. General Session, Calcutta 'Shahadat-e-Husain', 1921. 7. Indian National Congress, Delhi, 1923. 8. Indian Khilafat Conference, Kanpur, 1925. 9. Indian National Congress, Ramgarh, 1940.

68. *Khutbat-e-Azad*. Ed. by Shorish Kashmiri, Delhi, Urdu Kitab Ghar, 1959. (U).

Earlier edition was published by Maktaba-i-Shair-o-Adab, Lahore in 1944.

A collection of the following Khutbat (Presidential Addresses) 1. Ittehad-e-Islam, 27th Oct. 1921. pp. 2-5. 2. Majlis-e-Khilafat, 25th Oct. 1921, Agra. pp. 28-54. 3. Bengal Khilafat Conference, 28 and 29 Feb. 1920. pp. 55-106. 4. Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind 18 Nov. 1921, Lahore. pp. 107-123. 5. Ijlas All India Khilafat Conference, 29 Dec. 1925, Kanpur. pp. 172-192.

69. *Khutbat-e-Azad*. Ed. by Malik Ram. New Delhi, Sahitya Akademi, 1974. (U).

A collection of addresses and speeches delivered by Maulana Azad.

70. *Khutbat-i-Azad*. Ed. by Nasrullah Khan Aziz. Lahore, Adabistan, n.d. (U).

This book has the following:

Muqaddamah by Nasrullah Khan Aziz, pp.4-8, Khutbat: Ittehad-i-Islami, Ijlas-i-A'am, Calcutta, 27th Oct. 1914, pp. 9-35, Subai Majlis-i-Khilafat Agra, 25th Oct. 1921, pp. 36-68. Khutba-i-Tehriri, Jamiatul Ulema-i-Hind, Lahore, 18th Nov. 1921, Khutba-i-Taqriri, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Lahore, 18th Nov. 1921, pp.69-149, Ijlas-i-A'am, Calcutta, pp.150-210, Shahadat-i-Husain, pp.211-245, Ijlas-i-Khususi, Indian National Congress, Delhi, 15th Dec. 1923, pp.246-307. Subai Majlis-i-Khilafat Conference, 28th Feb. 1920, pp.308-324. All India Khilafat Conference, Kanpur, 29th Dec. 1925, pp. 325-330, Khutba-i-Ramgarh, March 1940, pp.335-368.?

71. *Khutbat-e-Siyasiya aur Masajid-e-Islamia*, Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha't. n.d. (U).

By quoting the Hadith, Maulana proves that political problems can be discussed during Khutbas delivered in Mosques. Also



- Published by Swaraj Printing Works, Delhi.
72. *Kitab al-Tazkirah*. Tr. by Meer Waliuddin. Hyderabad, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, 1961. (E).  
Translation of Maulana's book: *Tazkirah*.
73. *Majmua' -e-Mazamin-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. Ed. by Mushtaq Ahmad. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha't. n.d. (U).  
A collection of the writings of Maulana Azad.
74. *Makalamat-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. Lahore, Maktaba Ahbab, n.d. (U).  
A collection of literary and religious essays, and Maulana's replies to the letters from readers of *Al-Hilal*.
75. *Makatib-e-Abul Kalam*. Lahore, Adabistan. n.d. (U).  
A collection of letters by Maulana Azad.
76. *Makatib-e-Abul kalam Azad*. Ed. by Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri. Karachi Urdu Academy. 1968. (U).  
A collection of letters writtern by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad between 1900 to 1957.
77. *Malfuzat-e-Azad*. Ed. and Comp. by Mohd. Ajmal Khan. Delhi, Hali Publishing House, 1959. (U).  
A collection of responses by Maulana Azad to queries on religious matters.
78. *Maqalat-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. Delhi, Chaman Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
A collection of Maulana's writings dealing with the freedom, the duties, and other religious responsibilities of the Muslims.
79. *Maqalat-e-Al-Hilal*. Lahore, Adabistan, n. d. (U).  
A collection of writings from *Al-Hilal*.
80. *Maqalat-e-Azad*. Ed. by Abdullah Butt. Lahore, Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1944. (U).  
A collection of writings by Maulana Azad.
81. *Maqam-e-Jamaluddin Afghani*. n.p. 1948. (U).
82. *Martyrdom of Husain*. Tr. by Muhammad Iqbal Siddiqui. Delhi, Noor Pub., 1985 (E).  
Historical events surrounding the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Husain and his family members at the Karbala.
83. *Masla-i-Khilafat*. Delhi, Hali Publishing House, 1961. (U).  
Presidential address of the Provincial Khilafat Conference. This



is a comprehensive discussion on Khilafat, the Islamic institution of succession. It includes the meaning of Khilafat, its history and establishment.

84. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ka Ghair-Matbua Kalam*. Ed. by Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri. Karachi, Idara-i-Tasneef-o-Tahqiq, 1966. (U).

An unpublished collection of verses by Maulana Azad.

85. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ka Paigham*. Delhi, S<sup>h</sup>waraj Printing Press, 1922. n.p. (U).

An address by Maulana Azad .

86. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ka Tarikhi Khutba*. Delhi, Urdu Academy, 1985. (U).

Maulana's historical speech delivered at Jama Masjid, Delhi, in 1947, after the partition of India. The speech was originally delivered in Urdu. English and Hindi translations are included in this book.

87. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ke Nam Adabi Khutut wa Jawab-e-Azad*. Ed. by Ajmal Khan. Delhi, Sangam Kitab Ghar, 1966. (U).

A collection of nine letters written to Maulana and his replies to the correspondents.

88. *Maulana Azad ka Nazaria-i-Sahafat*. Ed. by Qutubullah. Lucknow, & Urdu Academy, 1988. (U).

Describes Maulana's journalistic style and point of view.

89. *Mazamin-e-Abul Kalam*. Meerut, Darul, Isha'at, n.d. (U).

A collection of essays by Maulana Azad.

90. *Mazamin-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. 2 Vols. Delhi, Hindustani Publishing House, 1944. (U).

V 1: Ed. by Sifarish Husain.

V 2: Ed. by Badrul Hasan.

Collection of articles written by the Maulana on various subjects, particularly Islamic philosophy, history and Urdu literature.

91. *Mazamin-e-Al-Balagh*. Ed. by Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqui. Delhi, Hindustan Publishing House, 1949. (U).

A collection of articles published in *Al-Balagh*. Also reprinted in Lahore by *Aina-e-Adab* in 1981.

92. *Mazamin-e-Al-Hilal*. Ed. by Mohd. Rafiq. Delhi, Idara-e-Isha'at-ul-Qur'an, n.d. (U).

A collection of articles by Maulana Azad published in *Al-Hilal*,

These articles were also published by Adabistan, Lahore, 1961.

93. *Mazamin-e-Azad*. Ed. by Abdullah Butt. Lahore, Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1944. (U).

A collection of writings by Maulana Azad.

94. *Mazamin-e-Lisan-ul-Sidq* Ed. by Abdul Qavi Dasnavi. Lucknow, Naseem Book Depot, 1967. (U).

A collection of articles published in *Lisanul-Sidq*, the first monthly magazine edited by Maulana in 1903 from Calcutta.

95. *Mera Aqida*. Ed. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Karachi, Maktaba Mahaul, 1959. (U).

Letters in which Maulana discusses the controversy among the Muslims about his faith after the first publication of *Tarjuman-ul-Quran*.

96. *Musalman aur Congress*. Lahore, Azad Book Depot, n.d. (U).

Maulana's viewpoint on the participation of Muslims in the Congress Party.

97. *Musalman Aurat*. Lahore, M. Sanaullah Khan, 1956. (U).

An Urdu translation of "Al-Mar'atul Muslima"—an Arabic publication by Farid Wajdi Afandi. In this book the author has described the position of women in the modern society of Egypt. Also Published by Maktaba-i- Isha't-ul-Quran in 1963.

98. *Naqsh-e-Azad*. Ed. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Lahore, Kitab Manzil, 1958. (U).

A collection of Maulana's writings on Mirza Ghalib. and his letters to Ghulam Rasul Mehr.

99. *National Tehreek*. An unpublished manuscript written in 1939 and available at the Indian Council for Cultural Relations library. (U).

Maulana's views on the National Movement of India.

100. *Nawadir-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. Ed. by Zahir Ahmad Khan. Ali-garh, Sir Syed Book Depot, 1962. (U).

A collection of Maulana's writings.

101. *Nigarishat-e-Azad*. Delhi, New Taj Office, 1960. (U).

A collection of articles on religion, history of Islam and ethics

102. *Parliamani Taqrir*. New Delhi, Lok Sabha Sectt. 1954 (U).

Speeches of Maulana Azad and a few members of Parliament on communal situation in the country.

103. "Pesh Lafz" to *Masnaviyat-e-Meer ba Khatte-e-Meer*. Ed. by Dr.

Ram Babu Saxena. Delhi, Dhumi Mal Dharam Das. 1956. preface by Maulana Azad (U).

104. *Pesh Lafz to The Persians*; a Greek play Aeschylus (473 B.C.). Tr. by Asaf Ali, edited by Khwaja Ahmed Faruqi.

105. Preface to '*History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*. Ed. by S. Radhakrishnan, London, Allen and Unwin. 1953. (E).

In 1947 Maulana Azad called an educational conference in Delhi and invited several philosophers to write a history of philosophy with a modern approach to the subject. Maulana Azad contributed his article as Preface to this book.

106. *Presidential Address, Special Session of the Indian National Congress, Delhi, 15 September, 1923*. Aligarh, Jamia Millia Press, 1923. (E).

In this address Maulana emphasizes the need for Hindu-Muslim unity. Among others who attended the Special Session were C.R. Dass, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Moti Lal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, Sardar Patel, and Rajendra Prasad.

107. *Presidential Address*. Indian National Congress, Eighty-third Session, Ramgarh, March 1940. (E).

An English translation of the Ramgarh speech.

108. *Purdah Qaid ki 'Alamat Hai Ya Azadi ki Zamanat?* n.p. (U). Maulana Azad's views on purdah.

109. *Quol-e-Faisal*. Calcutta, Al-Balagh Press, 1922. (U).

Despite the ban on public meetings and speeches, Maulana Azad openly criticised the Government by addressing meetings at different venues in the country during the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements. Noted national leaders were jailed and Maulana Azad was also arrested in 1921. On this occasion the statement he made before the Court was published under the title *Quol-e-Faisal*.

110. *Qur'an ka Qanoon-e-'Uruj-o-Zawal*. Delhi, Darul Isha'at, 1960. (U).

Collection of essays on the doctrines of Islam in the light of teachings of Islam and its influence on Muslims.

111. *Qurbani*. Delhi, Mehbubul Mutabe, n.d. (U).

A story based on one by the French writer, Victor Hugo.

112. *Radd-e-Mirza'iyat*. Lahore, Kutab Khana Da'wate-e-Islam, 1937 (U).

113. *Sada-i-Raf'at*. Ed. by Mirza Janbaz. Delhi, Azad Academy, n.d. (U).

A collection of religious, historical, political and literary essays by Maulana Azad which is a treasure house of his style of writing and knowledge. The book was also published from Layalpur, Malik Publishers.

114. *Rasul-e-Arabi*. Lahore, Maktaba Azmat, n.d. (U).

A study of character, conduct and qualities of Prophet Mohammad.

115. *Rasul-e-Rahmat: Sirat-e-Tayyiba par Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Ke Maqalat*. Ed. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Delhi, Eiteqad, 1982. (U).

A collection of Maulana's writings on the life of Prophet Mohammad.

116. *Azemat-o-Dawat. (Risala)* Calcutta, Public Library, n.d. (U).

Selection of a few chapters of Maulana's famous book *Tazkirah*. Also reprinted in Delhi by Naaz Publishing House.

117. *Sabhapati Ka Bhashan*. Ramgarh Congress Committee, n.d. (H).

A Hindi version of the Presidential address by Maulana Azad at the Indian National Congress, Ramgarh, 1940.

118. *Sada-e-Haq*. Ed. by Masud-ul-Hasan Usmani. Delhi, Hali Publishing House, n.d. (U).

A collection of speeches by Maulana Azad on various aspects of life in the light of religion.

119. *Sarmad Shaheed*. Lahore, Malik Mohammaddin. n.d. (U).

An essay on Sarmad, a sufi, who lived in India during the reign of Aurangzeb. He was executed by the order of the Emperor and his fanatic jury of Muslims. They never realised that Sarmad was lost in meditation and was not liable to be punished under the common law. The book was also reprinted in Lucknow by Tanvir Publishers.

120. *Saurat-ul-Hind-al-Siyasiyah*. An Arabic translation of a statement before the Calcutta Court. Cairo, Matbaat Al-Manar, (1922-3). (A).

The Arabic translation of *Quol-e-Faisal* by Abdul-Razzaq Malihabadi.

121. *Shaheed-e-Karbala*. Bijnor, Kutab Khana Nai Jantari, 1930.(U).

Maulana Azad's analysis of the most important event in the history of Islam, the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Husain and his family at Karbala.

122. *Shahrah-e-Maqsud: Siyasat-e-Hind men Musalmanon ke liye Rah-e-Amal*. Delhi, Jayyad Barqi Press. n.d. 1st Ed. Calcutta, *Al-Hilal*, 1912.

123. *Shakhsiyat-e-Zul Qarnayn Al-Mazakara fi'l Qur'an*. Baghdad, Darul Basri, n.d. (A).

Arabic translation of a portion of *Tarjumanul Qur'an* which tells the story of Zul Qarnayn. Zul Qarnayn protected the people of his valley from the invasion of Harut and Marut. There is a controversy among scholars about his identity.

124. *Speech at Mirzapur Square. 1st July 1921*. (unpublished script). (U).

On 1st July 1921, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad delivered the above speech at Calcutta on Non-cooperation movement against the British. Two speeches are bound together. First delivered by Maulana on 1st July and the second on 21st July. As a result of these speeches, he was arrested by the Government.

125. *Speeches at Mirzapur Square on 1st and 15th July, 1921*. (unpublished). (E).

126. *Speeches by Maulana Azad, 1947-55*. 2 vols. New Delhi, Publications Division. 1956. (E).

These speeches were translated into English by Syed Abdul Latif and published in two volumes from Bombay, by Asia Publishing House in 1961, and also from Hyderabad in 1978.

127. *Speeches, Inaugural addresses and Presidential Addresses, 1955-58*. (E) (Unpublished).

Contains the following:

1. Speech, Laying the foundation-stone of the National Museum, New Delhi, 12th May, 1955.
2. Inaugural address, Unesco Seminar on Development of Public Libraries in Asia, New Delhi, 6th October, 1955.
3. Address, Second Inter-University Youth Festival, 23rd October, 1955, New Delhi.
4. Presidential address, 23rd Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, New Delhi, 14th January, 1956.
5. Presidential address, Second Conference of the Indian National Commission for Unesco, 6th February, 1956, New Delhi.
6. Welcome address to their Imperial Majesties the Shahanshah and the Empress of Iran, New Delhi, 19th February, 1956.

7. Address, 9th Session of the General Conference of Unesco, November 5 1956.
8. Concluding address, 9th Session of the General Conference of Unesco.
9. Presidential address, 24th Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, New Delhi, 16th January, 1957.
10. Speech, 10th Meeting of the All-India Council for Technical Education, 22nd February, 1957, New Delhi.
11. Address, State Education Ministers' Conference, New Delhi, 20th September, 1957.
12. Welcome address, Fourth Inter University Youth Festival, 1st November, 1957, New Delhi.
13. Presidential address, 25th Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, New Delhi, 6th February, 1958.
14. Presidential address. General Assembly Meeting of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 14th February, 1958.
128. *Speeches of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. 1939, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1945, 1957. (unpublished). (E).  
Collection of speeches and statements made by Maulana Azad as they appeared in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.
129. *Speeches of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Vol. 1*. 13. 12.1939 to 8.7.1946. Calcutta National Library. 1957. (unpublished). (E).  
Collection of speeches and statements made by Maulana Azad as they appeared in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.
130. *Speeches of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Vol. 2*. 1946 to 1948. (unpublished). (E).  
Collection of speeches and statements made by Maulana Azad as they appeared in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.
131. *Spirit of Islam*: A summary of the commentary of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on *Al-Fatiha*, the first chapter of Quran compiled by Ashfaq Husain. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958. (E). Also published under the title *Quintessence of Islam*.  
Ashfaq Husain expresses his appreciation of the commentary written by Maulana Azad. and summarizes the opening chapter, *Surah-e-Fatiha*.
132. *Subh-e-Umid*. Ed. by Hafiz Fayyaz Ahmad. Delhi, Sangam Kitab Ghar. 1959. (U).  
A collection of important writings by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.



133. *Tabarrukat-e-Azad*. Ed. by Ghulam Rasul Mehr. Hyderabad, Usmania Book Depot, 1969. (U).  
A collection of 97 letters and 8 articles of Maulana Azad. The writings cover various aspects of religion, politics, history, education and reformation.
134. *Tafseer Para-e-Alif-Lam-Meem*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, 1958. (U).  
Commentary of the First Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
135. *Tafseer Para-e-Lantanal*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
Commentary of the Fourth Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
136. *Tafseer Para-e-Sayqul*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
Commentary of the Second Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from the Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
137. *Tafseer Para-e-Tilk-ar-Rasul*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot n.d. (U).  
Commentary of the Third Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from the Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
138. *Tafseer Para-e-Waiza-Samiu*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
Commentary of the Seventh Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from the Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
139. *Tafseer Para-e-Wa'l Mohsinat*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
Commentary of the Fifth Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from the Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
140. *Tafseer Para-e-La Yohibbullah*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).  
Commentary of the Sixth Para (chapter) of Qur'an taken from the Maulana's *Tarjumanul Qur'an*.
141. *Ta'limi Tark-e-Mawalat ka Maqsad*. Delhi, Swaraj Printing Works, (1920). (U).
142. *Tanziat-e-Azad*. Delhi, Taj Pub. House, n.d. (U).  
A collection of articles written by Maulana Azad in *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh*. These articles have been compiled into book form specially to highlight the sarcasm and humour in the Maulana's



writings. The book was also published from Lahore, Naya Kitab Ghar, 1963.

143. *(Taqriz)* in *Surod-e-Zindagi* by Asghar Gondvi. Delhi, Naaz Publishing House, (1934). (U).

Preface to poetical collection of Asghar Gondvi.

144. *Tarbiat-e-Askari aur Qur'an-e-Hakim*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot, n.d. (U).

145. *Tarikhi Maqalat*. Ed. by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. Delhi, Nadwatul Musanaffeen, 1966. (U).

Selected writings of Maulana Azad.

146. *Tarikhi Shakhsiyaten*. Delhi, Kitabi-Duniya. n.d. (U).

A collection of brief biographical sketches written by Maulana Azad.

1. "Hikayat Barq-o-Khirman" pp. 9-18.
2. "Jamaluddin Afghani" pp. 19-30.
3. "Rousseau" pp. 31-64.
4. "Napolean" pp. 65-86.
5. "Rustam bin Raza" pp. 87-100.
6. "Madhat Pasha" pp. 101-170.
7. "Mustafa Fazil Pasha" pp. 171-200.
8. "Saad Pasha Zaghlool" pp. 201-238.
9. "Voltaire" pp. 239-260.

Subsequent edition was entitled "Cheeda Shakhsiyaten".

147. *Tariqa-e-Hajj*. Delhi, Taj Publishing House, 1966.

The book deals with the importance of Hajj in Islam and the essentials for performing Hajj.

148. *Tarjuman-ul-Qur'an*. Ed. and rendered into English by Syed Abdul Latif. 2 Volumes, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1967. (E).

Abdul Latif's has translation of *Tarjuman-ul-Qur'an* into English.

149. *Tarjuman-ul-Qur'an*. Ed. by Malik Ram. 4 Volumes, New Delhi, Sahitya Akademi, 1964-76 (U).

The work is an Urdu translation of the Qur'an with an Introduction commentary and annotation. It has a preface by Dr. Zakir Husain.

Vol. 1. Published in 1964.

Vol. 2. Published in 1966.

Vol. 3. Published in 1968.

Vol. 4. Published in 1970.

150. *Tasawwurat-e-Qur'an*. Ed. by Syed Abdul Latif. Delhi, Naaz Publishing House, n.d. (U).

The true spirit and fundamentals of the Qur'an have been discussed in this book.

151. *Tasrihat-e-Azad*. Delhi, Taj Urdu Academy, n.d. (U).

During the publication of *Al-Hilal* many religious and political problems were brought before Maulana Azad by Muslims as well as Hindus. Maulana's replies to some of the issues raised, are contained in this book.

152. *Tawhid wa Shahadat*. Bombay, Book Centre, 1966. (U).

A collection of essays published in *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh*.

153. *Taza Mazamin-e-Abul Kalam Azad*. Ed. by M. Mushtaq Ahmad. Meerut, Qaumi Darul Isha'at, 1921. (U).

A collection of the Maulana's writings.

154. *Tazkirah*. Ed. by Fazluddin Ahmad. Lahore, Anarkali Kitab Ghar, (1919).

The work includes biographical sketches of eminent personalities of Maulana's family and also a treatise on Islam.

155. *Tazkirah*. Ed. with notes and introduction by Malik Ram. Delhi, Sahitya Academy, 3rd ed. 1985. (U).

Biographical sketches of eminent personalities of Maulana's family. This is not only a biography but also a treatise on religion. The book was first edited by Mirza Fazluddin Ahmed and published from Calcutta, *Al-Balagh* Press in 1919. Also reprinted from Maktaba Meri Library and Kitab Mahal, Lahore.

156. *Tehrik-e-Azadi*. Delhi, Kitab Khana. n.d. (U).

A collection of articles on political and religious aspects with special emphasis on the Independence movement. The book was also published from Chaman Book Depot, Delhi and Maktaba Mahaul, Lahore, in 1958 and 1959.

157. *Tehrik-e-Nazm-e-Jama'at*. Ed. & comp. by Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri, Lahore, Nazir Sons Publishers, 1978. (U).

158. *Umm-ul Kitab* (Tafseer Surah-e-Fatiha). Lahore, Maktaba-e-Ahbab, n.d. (U).

The book is an interpretation of the opening chapter of the Qur'an which has been referred to as Ummul Qur'an Fatehatul-Kitab, Al-Kafia, Al-Kanz etc. The Qur'an itself gives a special place to this chapter, for it states: "We have bestowed upon thee the seven

oft-repeated and the great Qur'an". The prominent place given to this chapter is due to the fact that it is not only the introduction to the Qur'an but also its essence. The words in this chapter are so simple that every one can easily understand and be moved by them. It is with this in view that this chapter was made the central piece of Islamic literature and is repeated several times during each prayer and on all other solemn occasions.

159. *Wiladat-e-Nabawi*. Delhi, Chairman Book Depot, 1962. (U).

The book deals with the importance of the birth of Hazrat Mohammad, the Prophet of Islam. He was a blessing for the universe and his message was not only for the betterment of the followers of Islam but for the improvement of humanity as a whole.

160. *Zikra*. n.p. 1925. (U).

A biography of Hazrat Mohammad, the Prophet of Islam.

161. *Zulqarnayn*. Lahore, Shamim Book Depot. n.d. (U).

An extract of *Tarjumanul Qura'n* by Maulana Azad. In Surah Kehef, Zulqarnayn is portrayed as a very good ruler. He extended empire from East to West and protected the people of the his valley from the invasion of Harut-o-Marut.

162. *Zulqarnayn ya Korwash Kabir*. Tr. by Bostani Barhari. Tehran, 1339 A.H. (P).

A Persian translation of the famous story of *Zulqarnayn*.

**B —Periodicals**

Periodicals edited and co-edited by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

163. *AHSAN-UL-AKHBAR* (Calcutta). 1907
164. *AL-BALAGH* (Calcutta). 1915-16.
165. *AL-HILAL* (Calcutta). 1912-14.
166. *AL-HILAL* (Saani) (Calcutta). 1927.
- 167.- *AL-JAMIA* (Calcutta). 1923 (with Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi.)
168. *AL-MISBAH*. (Calcutta). 1900.
169. *AL-NADWA* (Lucknow). 1905.
170. *DARUL SULTANAT* (Calcutta). 1907.
171. *KHADANG-E-NAZAR* (Lucknow). 1900.
172. *LISAN-UL-SIDQ* (Calcutta). 1903.
173. *NAIRANG-E-ALAM* (Calcutta). 1899.
174. *PAIGHAM* (Calcutta). 1921.
175. *PAYAAM* (Calcutta). 1927.
176. *VAKIL* (Amritsar). 1906.

## Section II

### Works on Maulana Azad

#### A. Books.

177. ABDUHU, G. RASUL.

*Educational Ideas of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1973. (E).

A detailed examination of the educational ideas of Maulana Azad and his philosophy of education as a compromise between the traditional method based on religion and the modern trends based on science and technology.

178. ABDUL GHAFAR, QAZI MOHD.

*Aasar-e-Abul Kalam Azad: Ek Nafsiati Mota' la.* Delhi, Azad Kitab Ghar, 1963. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad with special stress on his individuality and his literary abilities. First edition published in 1949.

179. ABDUL MAJID DARYABADI.

*Urdu Ka Adeeb-e-Azam: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ke Husn-e-Insha aur Muraqqa-e-Sirat par ek Nazar.* Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Talif, 1986. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad and his correspondence with the author. Also contains the author's articles on Maulana Azad, written for *Sidq-e-Jadid* and for other publications.

180. ABDUL MUGHNI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Zahn-o-Kirdar.* New Delhi, Anjuman Tarraqi-e-Urdu, 1989. (U).

Critical study of the life and work of Maulana Azad and appreciation of his religious thoughts, particularly his contribution to the interpretation of the Holy Quran.

## 181. ABDUL MUNIM AL-NIMR.

*Abul Kalam Azad*. 2 Vols. Cairo, Jamhuriyat-Al-Misr Al-Majlis, Al-Lishnun Al-Islamia 1973, (A).

## 182. ABDUL QAVI DASNAVI.

*Abul Kalam Azad*. Delhi, Sahitya Akademi, 1987, (U).  
A biography.

## 183. ABDUL QAVI DASNAVI.

*Mutala-i-Ghubar-e-Khatir*. New Delhi, Maktaba-Jamia. 1981. (U).

Critical examination of the meaning, scope, and scholarly value of the letters. References have also been made to noted writers of epistles like Ghalib, Sir Syed, Hali and Shibli.

## 184. ABDUL WADOOD KHAN. Ed.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Tehreek-e-Azadi-wa-Yakjehti*. Delhi, Kitab Wala, 1983. (U).

Writings of distinguished scholars on Maulana's personality and works.

## 185. ABDUR RAHMAN SAID. Ed.

*Dastan-e-Karbala*. Karachi, Nafis Academy. 1956. (U).

Story of the martyrdom of Imam Husain and his family at Karbala, written by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

## 186. ABDUL RAZZAQ MALIHABADI.

*Zikr-e-Azad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ki Rifaqat men Artis Sal*. Calcutta, Daftar Azad Hind, 1960. (U).

The author's own impression of the life and works of Maulana Azad.

## 187. ABU SALMAN AL-HINDI.

*Imamul Hind*. Karachi, Maktaba-e-Asloob, 1962. (U).

A detailed study of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

## 188. ABU SALMAN AL-HINDI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. Lahore. 1967, (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana.

## 189. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Abul Kalam Azad ba Haisiyat Mufasssir-o-Muhaddith*. Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Tehqiq, 1984. (U).

Discusses Maulana's mastery over Islam and Hadith (tradition and sayings of the Holy Prophet). Ascertains and authenticates the Maulana's place in this field.

## 190. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Abul Kalam wa Abdul Majid: Adabi Maarka.* Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Tehqiq, 1987. (U).

A critical examination of a literary debate between Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi, published in *Al-Hilal* and in *Al-Balagh* in 1913, on the proper use of words and dialects in Urdu writing.

191. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI. *Ed.*

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Ek Mutala.* Karachi, Maktaba Asloob. 1986. (U).

A collection of writings by distinguished scholars from India and Pakistan on Maulana Azad's literary, religious, and political works.

## 192. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad aur unke ma' sireen* (U).

Critical and comparative study of Maulana with his contemporary scholars and leaders.

## 193. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Ek Shakhsyat, Ek Mut'ala* . Lahore, Progressive Books, 1967. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with special reference to his works.

## 194. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Urdu ki Taraqqi mein Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ka Hissa: Ek Tarikhi-o-Tehqiqi Jaeza.* Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Tehqiq, n.d. (U).

Deals with two aspects of the subjects (1) The literary ability of Maulana, (2) Contribution to the progress of Urdu language and literature.

## 195. ABUL HASAN ALI NADWI.

*Purane Charagh* (Part 2) Lucknow, Maktaba-i-Firdaus, 1986. (U).

This book includes biographical sketch of Maulana Azad.

## 196. ABUL WAHEED KHAN.

*Taqseem-e-Hind.* Lahore, Maktaba-e-Aiwan-e-Adab, 1959. (U).

The book was written in response to Maulana's *India Wins Freedom*. The author critically analyses each event from a historical point of view and highlights the role of Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the freedom struggle of India and the formation of Pakistan.



## 197. AHMAD AMIN.

*Zu'ama al-Islah Fil-Asr Al-Hadith*. Beirut, Darul Kitab-al-Jadid, n.d. (A).

## 198. AHMAD HASAN KAMAL.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ne Barr-e -Sagheer Pak-o-Hind-o-Bangladesh ke Bare mein kya Kaha tha*. Multan, Maktaba Afkar-e-Nau, 1973. (U).

Maulana's views on the subcontinent.

## 199. ANSARI, ASAR BIN YAHYA.

*Maulana Azad: Ek Siyasi Diary*. Dhaulia, Aliya Publishers, 1982. (U).

A collation of the political events of the life of Maulana Azad in chronological order. In this book, the author covers Maulana's life, from his birth in 1888 to death in 1958.

## 200. ARSH MALSIANI.

*Abul Kalam Azad: Sawaneh Hayat*. New Delhi, Publications Division, 1974. (U).

## 201. ARSH MALSIANI.

*Abul Kalam Azad*. New Delhi, Publications Division, 1976. (E).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

## 202. ASAD ALI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam*, New Delhi, Children's, Book Society 1976. (Hindi).

Life sketch of Maulana Azad for children.

## 203. AZIZ, K.K.

*The Indian Khilafat Movement 1915-1933: A Documentary Record*. Karachi, Pak Publishers, 1972. (E).

## 204. AZMATULLAH MALIHABADI.

*Sawaneh-Hayat: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. Delhi, Ansari Press, 1940. (U).

A biography of Maulana Azad with selected writings from *Al-Hilal* and important addresses.

## 205. BALJON, J. M. S.

*Modern Urdu Koran - Interpretation, 1880-1960*. Leiden, Brill, 1961. (E).

## 206. BAZMI, ABU SAEED.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Tanqeed aur Tabsra ki Nigah mein.* Delhi, Naaz Publishing House, 1940. (U).

A critical analysis of the Maulana's personality and his works  
Reprinted in Lahore by Iqbal Academy.

## 207. BEDAR, ABID RAZA.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* Rampur, Institute of Oriental Research, 1968. (U).

A study of Maulana's life and philosophy, including a detailed survey of his works.

## 208. BHATTACHARIYA, SHANTI RANJAN. Ed.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ke Passport ki Khufia File.* New Delhi, Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, 1987. (U).

The book contains a biographical sketch of Maulana and excerpts from his *Hamari Aazadi*. The last part of this book is about a confidential file regarding his passport.

## 209. BUTT, ABDULLAH.

*Abul Kalam Azad.* Lahore, Qaumi Kutub Khana, 1943. (U).

A collection of essays by eminent scholars on Maulana's literary, political and religious activities. The All Punjab Muslim Federation published this collection on his birth anniversary.

## 210. BUTT, ABDULLAH. Ed.

*Aspects of Abul Kalam Azad: Essays on his Literary, Political and Religious Activities.* Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Tehqiq, n.d. (E).

Contains articles on various aspects of Maulana's life by his close friends and associates like Jawaharlal Nehru, Aruna Asaf Ali, Mahadev Desai and Rajagopalachari. Biographical sketches of these writers are given at the end.

## 211. CHOPRA, P.N.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Unfulfilled dreams.* New Delhi, Interprint, 1990 (E).

Maulana Azad's life and work, particularly in the Freedom Struggle.

## 212. DEO, NAVATI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad .* Hyderabad Sindh, Qaumi Sahitya Dal, n.d. (S).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad in Sindhi language.

## 213. DESAI, MAHADEV.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: A Biographical Memoir.* 2nd ed. Agra, Shiva Lal Agarwal, 1946. (E).

A biographical memoir of Maulana Azad. Mahadev Desai was an associate of Maulana Azad during the National Movement.

## 214. DOUGLAS, IAN HENDERSON.

*Abul Kalam Azad. An Intellectual and Religious Biography.* Ed. by Gail Minault and Christian W. Troll. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1988. (E).

A study of Maulana Azad's early life, religious training, intellectual development, political activities and his role as a nationalist. His life history is divided in three main parts, from 1888 to 1910, from 1911 to 1922 and from 1923 to 1958.

## 215. FARUQUI, BURHAN AHMAD.

*The Mujaddids' Concept of Tawhid.* Lahore, Ashraf, 1940. (E).

## 216. FARUQI, I.H. AZAD.

*The Tarjuman Al-Qur'an.* New Delhi, Vikas, 1982. (E).

A critical analysis of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's approach to the understanding of the Qur'an.

## 217. FARUQI, M. ABDUL RAZZAQ.

*Abul Kalam Azad ke Taleemi Tasawwurat.* Gulbarga, Anjuman Hayat-e-Nau, 1985. (U).

A study on Maulana Azad as an educationist.

## 218. FAZL-E-HAQ KHAIRABADI.

*Al-Sawrat al-Hindiyah.* Arabic Text with Urdu Translation by Muhammad Abdul Shahid Khan Sherwani. Bijnor, Akhbar Madina, 1947. (A).

## 219. FIDA HUSAIN KHAN

*Imamul-Hind Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* Allahabad, Fida Hussain Khan, 1958. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad.

## 220. GANDHI, RAJMOHAN

*Eight Lives: A study of the Hindu-Muslim Encounter.* New Delhi, Roli Books International. 1986. (E).

Maulana Azad's life in the context of the title theme.

## 221. GHUFRAN AHMAD

*Abul Kalam Azad.* Delhi, Faizan Book Suppliers, 1985. (U).

A short biography of Maulana Azad written for school children.

## 222. HAHN, ERNEST H.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's Concept of Religion and Religious Belief according to his Tarjuman-ul-Qur'an.* Unpublished thesis. Montreal, McGill University Press, 1965. (E).

## 223. HARDY, PETER.

*Partners in Freedom and True Muslims: The Political Thoughts of some Muslim Scholars in British India 1912-1947.* Scandinavia Institute of Literature. 1971. (E).

Maulana Azad has been described as one of the freedom fighters.

## 224. HASAN MUHAMMAD PAHLWAN.

*Abul Kalam Azad.* Hyderabad, Maktaba-i-Ittihad-o-Taraqqi, 1958. (U).

A brief biography of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

## 225. HUSAIN AHMAD MADANI.

*Naqsh-e-Hayat.* 2 Vols. Deoband, Maktaba-i-Diniyat, 1953. (U).

## 226. IMDAD SABRI.

*Imamul-Hind Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Tehqiq, 1986. (U).

A biography with special emphasis on Maulana's learning, knowledge, intellect, perception and perfection of his writings.

## 227. ISLAM ALI.

*Maulana Azad ki Shakhsyat.* Lahore, Adbiyat, 1964.

## 228. IYER, SUBRAMANIA.

*Role of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Indian Politics.* Hyderabad, Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, 1968. (E).

## 229. JAGAN NATH AZAD.

*Abul Kalam Azad.* Lucknow, Idara Farogh-e-Urdu. 1958. (U).

## 230. JAVED VASHISHT. Ed.

*Maulana Azad. Fikr-o-Nazar ke Aine men.* Faridabad, Haryana Urdu Academy, 1987. (U).

Haryana Urdu Akademi organised a seminar on 10th March 1987. Various aspects of Maulana's work on religion, politics and literature were highlighted with special emphasis on his character. A report of a Mushaira held on this occasion is also given at the end.

## 231. JHA, VIMAL JAGDISH.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* Allahabad, Chatryhitkari Pustak Mela, 1940. (H).

A biography of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Hindi for school children.

232. KABIR, HUMAYUN, Ed.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: A Memorial Volume.* Bombay, Asia Pub. House, 1959 (E).

Some of the articles included are:

1. Jawaharlal Nehru: The Passing of a Great Man, pp.1-4.
2. S. Radhakrishnan: The Search and the Attainment, pp.5-7
3. Louis Massignon: My Meetings with Maulana Azad, pp.27-29.
4. J. B. Kripalani: The Voice of Reason, pp.30-36.
5. Syed Mahmud: A Resplendent Personality, pp.37-51
6. Mohammad Habib: The Revolutionary Maulana, pp.79-100.
7. Syed Abdul Latif: An Unfinished Masterpiece, pp.116-133.
8. Mohammad Mujeeb: *The Tadhkirah*: A Biography In Symbols, pp.134-152.
9. A. A. A. Fyzee: The Reinterpretation of Islam, pp.153-181.
10. Malcolm McDonald: Maulana Azad and the Sparrows, pp.182-189.
11. C. Rajagopalachari: Ptolemaic Error, pp.194-195.
12. M. C. Chagla: The Constitution of India, pp.196-200.
13. Tara Chand: India and the West, pp.221-240.

233. KABIR, HUMAYUN, ETC.

*Abul Kalam Azad.* New Delhi, Publications Division, 1958. (U).

A Study of Maulana Azad.

234. KABIR, HUMAYUN etc.

*Maulana Azad: A Homage.* Delhi, Publications Division, 1958. (E).

A collection of articles on the life and works of Maulana Azad and the tributes paid by statesmen and scholars from all over the world on his death.

235. KHALIDI, MOHAMMAD YUNUS.

*Ruh-e-Azad.* Lucknow, Abul Kalam Academy, 1960. (U).

236. KHALIDI, MOHAMMAD YUNUS.

*Nuqush-e-Abul Kalam Azad.* Lucknow, Maulana Azad Memorial Committee, 1978. (U).

A collection of Maulana's writings and speeches.

## 237. KHALID TIRMI.

*Yadgar-e-Azad*. Lahore, n.p. 1960. (U).

Homage paid by the Indo-Pakistan poets at the death of Maulana Azad.

## 238. KHALIQ ANJUM. Comp.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Shakhsiyat aur Karname*. Delhi, Urdu Academy, 1986. (U).

The Urdu Academy, Delhi, organised a seminar on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in 1985. This book contains the seminar papers.

## 239. KHUDA BAKSH ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY (Patna), Comp.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ki Ya'd mein*. Patna, compilor, 1988. (Hindi).

Book covers the life sketch and achievements of Maulana Azad.

## 240. KUMAR, H.L.

*The Apostle of Unity: Biographical Study of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. Lahore, Hero Publications, 1944. (E).

A short biography of Maulana Azad written for school children.

## 241. MALIK RAM.

*Tazkirah-e-Maaserin*. 4 vols. New Delhi, Maktaba Jamia, 1972. (U).

## 242. MANZUR AHMAD, MALIKZADA.

*Ghubar-e-Khatir ka Tanqidi Mutalia*. Lucknow, Maktaba-i-Deen-o-Adab, 1976. (U).

A critical analysis of *Ghubar-e-Khatir*.

## 243. MANZUR AHMAD, MALIKZADA.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Fikr-o-Funn*. Lucknow, Nasim Book Depot, 1969. (U).

A critical study of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Reprinted in 1978.

## 244. MANZUR AHMAD, MALIKZADA.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Al-Hilal ke Aine Mein*. Lucknow, n.p. 1972. (U).

A critical analysis of Maulana's writings in *Al-Hilal*.

## 245. MASIHUL HASAN. Comp.

*Hawashi-i- Abul Kalam Azad*. Delhi, Urdu Academy, 1988. (U).

Marginal notings of Maulana Azad on the books in his library. These books are in Arabic, English, Persian and Urdu. The writings have been collected and compiled from the Personal Collection of Maulana Azad preserved in the Azad Bhavan Library.

## 246. MINAULT, GAIL.

*The Khilafat Movement.* New York, Columbia University Press. 1982.

## 247. MOHAMMAD MUJEEB.

*"The Tazkirah: A Biography in Symbols, in Azad Memorial volume Ed. by Humayun Kabir.* Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1959. (E).

## 248. MOIN SHAKIR

*Azad, Islam and Nationalism.* New Delhi, Kalamkar Prakashan, n.d. (E).

A critical analysis of Maulana Azad's religious and political philosophy.

## 249. MOIN SHAKIR

*Khilafat to Partition.* New Delhi, Kalamkar Prakashan, 1970. (E).

## 250. MUSHIRUL HAQ.

"Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, A Revolutionary 'Alim", in *Maulana Azad 18th Death Anniversary.* 22 February 1976. Lucknow, Maulana Azad Memorial Academy, 1976. (E).

A study of Maulana Azad as a progressive intellectual.

## 251. NIZAMI, KHALIQ AHMAD.

*Maulana Azad Album.* Delhi. Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1988. (U & E).

An album released on Maulana' Azad's 100th Birth Anniversary. It contains pictures, portraits, sketches, diagrams and quotations from Maulana's writings.

## 252. NIZAMI, ZAFAR AHMAD.

*Maulana Azad ki Kahani,* New Delhi, Maktaba-i-Payam-i-Taleem, 1988. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad for children.

## 253. PANNI, SHER BAHADUR.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Maulana Azad ki Shakhsiyat, Seerat aur Afkar ka Mutala.* Karachi, Idara-i-Tasneef-o-Tehqiq, 1986. (U).

The book is based upon the author's personal study of Maulana and his work. Some historical addresses, delivered at Ramgarh in 1940, Jama Masjid in 1947 and in Parliament, 1954 are reproduced at the end.



## 254. QAISAR, JAMAL.

*Maulana Azad ke Karname*. Lucknow, Karim Book Depot, 1945.

## 255. QASMI, AKHLAQ HUSAIN.

*Maulana Azad ki Qurani Basirat*. Lahore, Sunni Publications, 1988. (U).

Describes Maulana's approach to the Quran and his view of Islamic Jurisprudence and life of the Prophet.

## 256. RAJPUT, A.B.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*. Lahore, Lion Press, 1946. (E).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad in which author has compared Maulana with Julius Caesar and Saint Paul, as a man of the moment and the future.

## 257. RAY, AMALENDU.

*Inconsistencies in Azad*. Howrah, Bangavarati Granthalaya, 1968. (E).

A critical study of Maulana Azad and his philosophy.

## 258. RAZIUDDIN AHMED.

*Naqd-e-Abul Kalam*. Tirupati, Shri Venkateswar University, 1968. (U).

Critical analysis and a detailed study of Maulana Azad. The author has compared Maulana with Meer Taqi Meer, Mirza Ghalib, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Sir Mohammad Iqbal.

259. REZAUL KARIM. *Ed.*

*Muslims and the Congress*. Calcutta, Barendra Library, 1941. (E).

## 260. RUKHSANA JALALI.

*Abul Kalam Azad : Parichay-wa-Sandesh*. Lucknow, Maulana Azad Memorial Academy, 1980. (H).

Biographical sketch of Maulana Azad for school children.

## 261. SAID AHMAD AKBARABADI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Sirat-o-Shakhsiyat aur Ilmi-o-Amali Karname*. Compiled by Abu Salman Shahjahanpuri. Karachi, Idara-e-Tasnif-o-Tehqiq, 1986. (U).

A biographical sketch and 4 other articles on different aspects of Maulana Azad written by eminent scholars. (U).

## 262. SAID AHMAD AKBARABADI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Marhoom*. Karachi, Maulana Said Ahmad Akbarabadi Academy, 1986. (U).

An analysis of the personality and literary ability of Maulana Azad.

263. SAIYIDAIN, K.G.

*Maulana Azad's Contribution to Education*. Baroda, Maharaja Sayajirao University 1961. (E).

Consists of two lectures on Maulana Azad: 1) Educational philosophy, and 2) Policies and programmes. Delivered as the Maharaja Sayajirao Memorial Lectures.

264. SAIYIDAIN, K.G.

*The Humanist Tradition in Indian Educational Thought*. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1966. (E).

An analysis of the educational philosophy of Maulana Azad.

265. SALIK, ABDUL MAJEED.

*Growth of Muslim Journalism*. In History of the Freedom Movement. Vol 3 Pt. 2. Karachi, Pakistan Historical Society, 1963. (E).

A study of Maulana Azad as a journalist.

266. SALIK, ABDUL MAJEED.

*Yaran-e-Kohan*. Lahore, Chattan, 1955. (U).

This book includes a biography of Maulana Azad.

267. SHAHID, M.A.

*Maulana Azad aur Unke Naqid*. Karachi, Modern Publishers, 1981. (U).

A critical assesment of the works of Maulana Azad.

268. SHAIDA REWARVI, ABDUL REHMAN.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad ki Sargarm Zindagi ka muraqqa*. Meerut, Kutubkhana-i-Saidiya, 1940. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad.

269. SIDDIQI, ATIQ. Ed.

*Afkar-i-Azad*. New Delhi, Nehru Institute of Democratic Socialism, 1969. (U).

Proceedings of the seminar organised by the Institute to commemorate the 10th death anniversary of Maulana Azad.

270. SIDDIQI, ATIQ. Ed.

*Aina-i-Abul Kalam Azad: Majmua-e-Maqalat*. Delhi, Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, 1976. (U).

A collection of essays on all aspects of Maulana's personality written by eminent leaders and writers. A few selected writings of Maulana Sahib are also included in this edition.

## 271. SIDDIQI, ATIQ.

*Ghalib aur Abul Kalam*. Delhi, Maktaba Shahrah, 1959. (U).

Comparative study of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mirza Ghalib.

## 272. SIPAS NAMA (HYDERABAD).

*Abul Kalam Azad*. Wazir-e-Talimat, *Hukumat-e-Hind*. Hyderabad, Dairatul Ma'arif, 1952. (U).

## 273. TARA CHAND.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in History of the Freedom Movement* Vol. 3. New Delhi, Publications Division, 1972. (E).

Azad's contribution to the freedom struggle.

## 274. UMRI, MOHMMAD SHOEB.

*Islami Ehkam wa Fiqah men Tarmeem Maulana Azad ki Nazar mein*. Bangalore, n.d. (U).

Maulana Azad's interpretation of the Islamic law.

275. USMANI, MASUDUL HASAN. *Comp.*

*Abul Kalam Azad, Ahwal wa Asar*. Lucknow, Maulana Azad Memorial Academy, 1977. (U).

A collection of essays on different aspects of Maulana's personality.

276. ZAIDI, ALI JAWWAD. *Comp.*

*Anwar-e-Abul Kalam*. Srinagar, Saqafati Sub-Committee, 1959. (U).

'Under "Jashn-e-Bahar-e-Kashmir", a seven-day seminar was organised in 1958, on Maulana's works on religion, politics, history and education. The papers presented by the participants were compiled and published along with a seminar report.

## B. Articles And Editorials from the Periodicals and Newspapers

### 277. ABDUL LATIF AZMI.

*Abul Kalam Azad: Tarikhi Ghalatiyan.* AJKAL, (Delhi). 46 (3), October 1987. pp 15-18-(U).

A review of the book *Abul Kalam Azad* written by Abdul Qavi Dasnavi.

### 278. ABDUL LATIF AZMI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* JAMIA, (Delhi). 80 (3), March 1983. pp 30-34. (U).

An analysis of Maulana's personality.

### 279. ABDUL LATIF AZMI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad aur Maulana Sayyid Suleman Nadwi ke Bahami Ta'aluqat un ke Khutut ki Roshni men.* JAMIA, (Delhi). 49 (6), December, 1963. pp 314-29. (U).

### 280. ABDUL LATIF AZMI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad par be Buniyad Ilzamat.* ZABAN-O-ADAB, (Patna). 12 (2), April-June, 1986. pp 24-46. (U).

Response to the criticism of Nisar Ahmad Faruqui in his article published in HAMARI ZABAN, Delhi, 15 April, 1986.

### 281. ABDUL LATIF AZMI.

*Maulana Azad ka Sad Sala Yaume Paidaish.* HAMARI ZABAN, (Delhi). 46 (42), 1 November, 1987. p.8. (U).

Discussion of Maulana's writings and suggestion about some aspects still to be covered.

### 282. ABDUL QAVI DASNAVI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad aur Haftawar 'Paigham'.* AJKAL, (Delhi). 43 (5), December 1984. pp 50-58. (U).

Maulana as a journalist and his Magazine *Paigham*.

### 283. ABDULLAH, U.

*The Azad papers - Mystery Unrevealed.* HINDU, (Delhi). 27, November 1988. (E).

Focus on the complete version of Maulana's *India Wins Freedom* published in 1988.

### 284. *Ghubar-e-Khatir aur Karvan-e-Khayal.* BURHAN, 44 (4), April 1960. pp 229-256. (U).

The article is a comparative study of Maulana's above two books.

## 285. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Al-Hilal, Calcutta: Tarikh, Khasies wa Maqasid, aur Fan ki Roshni mein.* JAMIA (Delhi). 85 (2), February 1988. pp 100-114. (U).

History and purpose of *Al-Hilal*.

## 286. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Hindustan mein Tarikh-e-Dawat-e-Islam ka ek Bab: Maulana Azad aur Tehreek-e-Nazm-e-Jamiat.* BURHAN, (Delhi). 65(3), September 1970. pp 153-177. (U).

Maulana's knowledge of Islam with special reference unity of the nation and leadership.

## 287. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.* NIDA-E-MILLAT, (Lucknow). 42 (41), 1st November, 1987. pp 3-4. (U).

Discusses the importance of *Al-Hilal* and other journals edited by Maulana.

## 288. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad par Pehli Kitab.* MAARIF., (Azamgarh). 99 (4), April 1967. pp 205-295. (U).

A review of *Imamul Ahrar' aur Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.*

## 289. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Naqush-e-Imamul Hind aur Risale.* URDU ADAB, (Delhi) 1967. pp 5-32. (U).

An important reference tool for study of Maulana Azad.

## 290. ABU SALMAN SHAHJAHANPURI.

*Naqush-e-Imamul Hind: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Pakistan Mein.* URDU ADAB, (Delhi). 1. 1964. pp 148-159. (U).

The author has stated that Maulana's importance was not recognised in Pakistan until 1964, when a number of his writings appeared.

## 291. ABUL HASAN ALI NADVI.

*Maulana Azad.* QAUMI AAWAZ, (Delhi). 21 February 1988. (U).

The author discusses Maulana's personality, character and literary ability.

## 292. AKHLAQ HUSAIN QASMI.

*Wahee-e-Nabuvvat ke Tasawwur men Sir Syed aur Maulana Azad ka Ikhtilaf.* BURHAN, (Delhi). 100 (3), September 1987. pp 177-180. (U).

Discussion of the difference of opinion between Maulana Azad and Sir Syed on the subject of *wahee*, the message of God through the angel Jibrail.

293. ALAM, M.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Ek Hamagir Shakhsiyat.* DILLI, (Delhi). April-September, 1988. pp 12-13. (U).

A biographical sketch of Maulana Azad.

294. ALVI, TAUSEEF.

*Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Ek Ehed Afreen Shakhsiyat.* QAUMI AWAZ, (Delhi). 5 Jan. 1989. (U).

A critical appreciation of Maulana Azad.

295. AZAD, JAGAN NATH.

*Maulana Azad ka Sh'ari Zauq* QAUMI RAJ, 13 (14). 10 September 1986, pp 18-31. (U).

In this essay, Maulana's literary and poetic expression have been discussed. References have been quoted from different sources including Maulana Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi.

296. AZAD: *7 November ko Rahasya Khulega.* NAVBHARAT TIMES, (Delhi), 25 October 1988. (H).

30 Pages will be released on 7th November 1988. (News item).

297. AZAD *Birth Centenary Celebrations on November 11*, INDIAN EXPRESS, (Delhi), 6 Nov. 1988 (E).

Press report of the function to be held on the 11th November at Vigyan Bhavan for the Azad Birth Centenary Celebrations.

298. AZAD *Championed Unity*: TIMES OF INDIA, (Delhi), 15 November 1988. (E).

Press coverage of the function held at Vigyan Bhavan at the opening ceremony of his Centenary Celebrations.

299. AZAD *Critical of Nehru too*. NATIONAL HERALD, (Delhi), 25 October 1988. (E).

Statement of Orient Longmans, publishers of *India Wins Freedom* on the 30 pages of this book.

300. AZAD *Embodied Secularism*. NATIONAL HERALD, (Delhi), 12 November 1988. (E).

Press report of the function held in Vigyan Bhavan on the opening function of Maulana's 100th Birth Anniversary.

301. AZAD *Papers, Troubled Legacy*. FRONT LINE, (Madras). 5 (5), 5-18, March 1988. pp. 113-116. (E).

A report by Hasan Suroor on the controversy about the unpublished portion of Maulana's autobiography *India Wins Freedom*.

302. *BURNEY Doubts Azad's Authorship*. HINDUSTAN TIMES, (Delhi). 28 November. 1988. (E).

Speech delivered at the inaugural function of Maulana Azad's birth centenary celebrations organized by the Iran Society.

303. *CRITICAL Reference to Patel in Azad Papers*. INDIAN EXPRESS, (Delhi). 24 October 1988. (E).

Rabindranath Roy who was Humayun Kabir's stenographer, and claimed to have typed the manuscript of *India Wins Freedom*; his interview to the press.

304. DUTT, ANURADHA.

*The Azad Papers*. ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY, (Bombay).

6-13, March 1988. pp. 8-17. (E).

The author profiles the widening controversy over Maulana Azad's '30 pages.'

305. DATTA, V.N.

*Azad: Final Look at Final Phase*. TRIBUNE, (Chandigarh). 27 November 1988. (E).

The third part of a comprehensive article on Maulana. The earlier parts were published in the July 31 and August 7 issues of the *Tribune*. These articles discuss the controversy about the authorship of *India Wins Freedom*..

306. DATTA. V.N.

*Azad Papers*. TIMES OF INDIA, (Delhi). 24 October 1988. (E).

The author expresses his doubts about Maulana's authorship of *India Wins Freedom*. In this article he gives arguments on which he has based his doubts and conclusions.

307. DATTA, V.N.

*Events Leading to Partition*. TIMES OF INDIA. 12 and 21 December 1988. (E).

308. DATTA, V.N.

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